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The League's Business

League Officers and Members in the Nation's Service

Among persons actively associated with the League in such capacities as officers, REVIEW correspondents, committee members, etc., who have entered the armed forces or service in war-connected civilian capacities since the announcement in our May 1942 issue, are the following:

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, chief of the United States Delegation to the Anglo-American Conference on Refugee Problems, held at Bermuda

Paul Betters, Army Supply Service

Sergeant John Blanchard, Army of the United States

Lieutenant Colonel Karl Detzer, Chief, Office of Technical Information, Headquarters, Army Supply Service

Patterson H. French, Office of Price Administration

William Tudor Gardiner, ex-governor of Maine, United States Air Force

Captain Robert E. Garrigan, awaiting assignment to the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia

Frederick P. Gruenberg, director of the Philadelphia-Camden Defense Rental Area of the OPA

Luther Gulick, Chief, Program and Requirements Division, Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph P. Harris, School of Military Government

Lieutenant Lashley G. Harvey, United States Navy

Hubert Hinshaw, National Housing Agency

Colonel Robert W. Johnson, Chief, Smaller War Plants Division, War Production Board

Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, Chairman, Air Raid Wardens, New Hampshire

Herman Kehrli, Bureau of the Budget

Howard M. Kline, Bureau of the Census

Albert Lepawsky, Army Air Corps

John W. Manning, Personnel Division, Adjutant General's Office, War Department

Elwyn A. Mauck, Chief of Program, Dockets and Directives Section of the Office of Civilian Defense

Colonel George H. McCaffrey, School of Military Government

John McDiarmid, U. S. Civil Service Commission

Laurence Michelmore, Bureau of the Budget

Fred A. Schuckman, New Jersey Office of the Office of Price Administration

S. S. Sheppard, Division of Administrative Management, U. S. Bureau of the Budget

John F. Sly, Regional Price Administrator, Office of Price Administration

Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, began active duty April 29.

Howard Strong, Director of the Homes Registration Division, Division of Defense Housing Coördination

Lieutenant Colonel Stuart M. Weaver, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Construction Division, Repairs and Utilities Branch, Washington, D. C.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Abuse of Power

MANY legislative bodies are prone to feel they have a special right to nullify the provisions of their constitutions and to ignore the wishes of their people. All too frequently they seem bent on lending force to the cynic's claim that we don't really have the democracy in defense of which we are again waging a bloody war.

Instances of such high-handed abuse of power are too numerous to detail. Virtually every state has seen legislative refusal to reapportion after each census and has experienced numerous other similar failures. Even when the people resort to constitutional amendment in the hope of forcing their legislatures to follow public opinion, the legislator frequently sits tight, confident in his knowledge that the people's memory is short.

A recent *coup d'etat* in Ohio is significant, not because it is rare—unfortunately, it isn't—but because of the tricky concealment with which it was accomplished. It is worth citing also because of the refreshing vigor with which outraged civic leadership rose to the challenge instead of following the familiar procedure of weakly accepting defeat.

Away back in 1933 the people of Ohio wrote into the state constitution a provision for optional forms of county government. Session after session of the Ohio State General Assembly has callously ignored this clear mandate. Recently, with the heat from civic organizations becoming more intense, the legislators figured out a way to keep from any public consideration a bill which would permit the voters of each county to adopt an "elective executive" or an "appointive executive" form of government or to keep the old type.

Printing the bill in full in its bulletin *Greater Cleveland* as a "protest against an act of political sabotage," the Citizens League of Cleveland explains:

"House Bill 293, introduced by Representative Campbell of Cuyahoga County on February 8, was illegally held in the Reference Committee until March 25 (forty-five days—eight days the limit) and was then sent to the Committee on Organization of State Government with order 'not to be printed,' which could have only one meaning, namely, to prevent its consideration by the Committee or the House. This bill had the support of some twenty-five or thirty commercial, civic, and taxpayers' organizations in the last session and is intended to carry out the provisions of the County Home Rule Amendment (Art. X). Such disgraceful dictatorship in a representative legislative body should not be tolerated in Ohio. As a protest the bill is herewith printed and sent to members of the legislature. A request will be made of the State Government Committee that it still be heard."

This is a lesson—chiefly for the

people. The only lesson unprincipled legislators ever learn is one which involves their ceasing to "represent" people whom they fail to represent.

Trend Toward Realism

IT IS easy and suggestive of something big and robust to toss off a remark like "Let's get on with the war!" and to ridicule postwar planning, especially when the plans are broad, idealistic, and on a grand scale. Nevertheless, the fact that such catch phrases are popular during a time when everyone is so preoccupied with the paramount task of winning the war presents a great danger. They should not be permitted to frighten local, county, state, and national governments away from their responsibility to prepare for the future.

This danger can be met in part by keeping planning on a down-to-earth, dollars-and-cents basis. Without such an approach there is every prospect that the period of readjustment to a peacetime economy may bring chaos worse than that which was experienced after World War I.

While it is clearly desirable to see the problem whole and to recognize that it is as broad as humanity itself, it still is necessary to break planning down into small segments which can be tested singly in a cold, calm, realistic way. Take, for example, one aspect, the preparation of a reservoir of public works to take up slack in employment or simply to make up for the wartime recess made necessary by the shortage of manpower and materials. Would it not be wise now, in order to prevent our being stampeded by political opportunism or the natural emotional reaction which will come with the end of hostilities, to apply definite tests to each and every one of the proposed projects? The following might be among those tests:

1. Is it clearly in the public interest?
2. Is it worthwhile?
3. Is there a better way to accomplish the same result?
4. Can the people afford it?
5. Can we, without serious loss, do without it?
6. Could it profitably be deferred to some other time?
7. For how many years will it be useful; will the original investment be retired within that period?
8. Is its cost in line with its usefulness?

There is nothing hardboiled about such tests as these and others which might be added. Doubters can find thousands of hastily conceived "improvements" in every part of the country which were not pre-tested and which stand as sorry monuments to the effectiveness of pressure groups or to the venality of the political powers that be. There is no need to enumerate them; scarcely a city of any size is without them.

Today, with the lessons of a previous postwar period still freshly in mind, we have a golden opportunity to make our plans carefully and to keep them on a basis which will promote public understanding and ac-

(Continued on Page 272)

Colonel Effingham at the Courthouse

Wherein the Colonel and his "troops" face an opposing force led by the local politicians.

By BERRY FLEMING

Because of the artistry and good humor with which it treats some of the basic and almost universal problems of effective citizenship, an incident taken from the recent Book-of-the-Month Club selection, *Colonel Effingham's Raid*,[1] is republished herewith by permission of the author and publisher.—EDITOR.

SYNOPSIS

"Cousin Willy," W. Seaborn Effingham (Colonel, U. S. Army, retired), returns to his native Fredericksville, Georgia, to spend his remaining years. But, old battle horse that he is, he recognizes an enemy when he sees one. He makes his first civilian "raid" against the hypocrisy and political corruption of his home town.

He opens his campaign by capturing the position of columnist—without pay—on the *Fredericksville Leader*. At first he confines himself to the relatively harmless field of local history and military strategy. Then he opposes the renaming of the Confederate Memorial Square for Pud Toolen, deceased mayor and political boss. Next, and even more dangerously, he opposes the quiet plan of the "courthouse ring" to raze the historic old courthouse with its memories of Washington, Lafayette, and many another notable and get its hands on fat contracts to erect a new and costly edifice.

The politicians, remembering that only fourteen citizens bothered to attend the last public meeting, finally are smoked out by Cousin Willy to the point of inviting all citizens interested in "the courthouse matter" to attend a public meeting in the old structure.

The story is related by Al Marbury, a reporter on the *Leader* and a second cousin of the Colonel.

THINGS were obviously not moving in any too happy a direction. It was only five minutes to eight by the great clock behind the judge's throne and there were not only already something near a hundred people seated in the room but they were pouring in the double doorway, a good many of them with a sheet of paper in their hand. I caught sight of Cousin Willy's pink dome near the door, where he stood like Saint Peter welcoming a congregation of Methodists who, by some mundane catastrophe, were arriving all at once. They were mostly widows with annuities, or sisters and aunts with an equally sound misunderstanding of trade and finance.

I spoke to Aunt Lulu.

"Where's Uncle Amos?" I said with some malice, knowing that Uncle Amos's retainer from the bus company prevented his getting down off the fence as effectively as if it had been a prong of barbed wire hooked into the seat of his pants.

"Your Uncle Amos had to go up to Chatham County on business."

I asked Sally Manadue where her papa was. He had gone in the other direction, toward Thunderbolt. The

[1]Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, $2.50. See review in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1943, p. 217.

president of the Broad Street Association was in bed with a horrible cold, and the heads of the civic clubs were all detained at meetings and conferences here and there about the county. The only males I could recognize were Jim Economy and his brother Louis. There may have been a few others. They were coming in so fast now I couldn't keep an accurate count.

The whole thing was interrupted by three or four slow whacks on the kitchen table where learned counsel usually piled its brief cases but which was occupied now by the chair and a clerk.

"The meeting will please come to order," said the chair, a round little man by the name of Jeffie who somehow always gave you the impression of standing largely on his heels.

Meetings weren't usually started in our trade area before twenty minutes past the hour, but this promptness suited me fine because, as I whispered to Councilman Wishum, the sooner we started the more chance we had of getting out of the place before it collapsed.

The chair rapped again. But before he could repeat his request for order, a familiar voice rose above the vestiges of confusion: "Just a minute, Mr. Chairman, sir, if you please; these ladies haven't yet found seats."

The result of this little remark struck me as being characteristic of that whole summer; the momentary effect was a decided weakening of the government's position, but whether Cousin Willy was ingenious enough to have planned it that way or whether the Lord just so directed it in a sort of appreciation for a great innocence, I don't know.

Anyhow, the chair saw what was happening and grabbed hold of the situation just before it was snatched out of his hands by pointing the handle of the gavel and saying in a not-to-be-outdone graciousness, "Ladies, I believe you will find some seats over in the corner there under the window," and waited for a minute with his courteous finger tips on the table. Then he began:

Majority Rule!

"We invited you here tonight, ladies and gentlemen, to express any opinions you may have on the disposition of this old building. As you know, parts of it were built over a hundred and fifty years ago and we can't expect anything to last for ever. Of course we can't promise to necessarily follow your suggestions. We are concerned with the desires of eighty thousand people and this assembly numbers perhaps—five hundred?"

He glanced down at the clerk for his estimate which, from the shake of his head, must have been considerably lower. "Well, say five hundred," continued the chair, declining the benefit of the doubt, "a little more than half of one per cent. Naturally we must be careful not to give undue weight, in a democracy like ours, to any minority. Now, in order to acquaint you with the dangerous condition of the building, I am going to first ask the clerk to read you the reports of the two independent contractors who have examined it."

The clerk adjusted his glasses and read the reports; I didn't pay much

attention because I had heard them before, but they went into the walls, the floors, the roof, the wiring, the plumbing, and all the rest. Obviously, the place was a shambles.

"From these reports, ladies and gentlemen," the chair summed up in a kindly way, "you can see it is not a question of what we would like to do with this fine old building, it is a question of what we can do—"

The Offensive Begins

"Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy, stepping with some chilliness out on to the floor. "Before presenting to you a petition to repair or remodel this building rather than destroy it—a request which would have no validity whatever if that is impossible—I should like to have your permission to read a report on the state of the building by Major Anthony T. Hickock, United States Army, Corps of Engineers, retired."

"Well," the chair explained with a smile, looking about the courtroom, "of course we don't know anything about this gentleman. But we have no desire to forestall the introduction of any relevant testimony—"

"You've heard of Miraflores Locks, sir, I presume," said Cousin Willy from way up.

The chair gazed off patiently at one of the triple-height windows; "Well, no, sir, I can't say I ever heard of that particular brand."

"Well, have you heard of the Panama Canal?"

"Yes, I've heard—"

"Major Hickock was the engineer in charge of building the great Miraflores Locks in the Panama Canal."

"I see," said the chair.

"He has examined this building from top to bottom, and I should like to introduce his report on the state of it."

"Of course military engineering is a very different thing from civilian engineering; has this man a license to—"

"Mr. Chairman," said Mr. Alsobrook with a well-tempered smile, rising halfway to his feet, "I move that the chair accept the colonel's report in evidence—"

"Certainly," said the chair. "I was just about to say we'd be very glad to add this gentleman's opinion to the two we already have. Will you proceed, sir?"

Cousin Willy unfolded a paper and, nesting his open left hand in the small of his back, he read the report. Major Hickock, in a low-temperature military style, made no attempt to deny the serious shortcomings of the building. "That the structure should have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent as now to make necessary these extensive repairs," the major permitted himself to observe, "is a matter of apparent negligence concerning which it is not my duty to report—"

Cousin Willy's reading was here interrupted by a rustle of feminine applause, which he acknowledged on behalf of the major with a nod or two. The substance of the rest of the report was that not only was the building "by no means beyond repair," but that to destroy "such a dignified and harmoniously-proportioned structure was something which, in the opinion of the writer, the legitimate pride of a municipality in its

monuments should go to great lengths to prevent."

The applause that followed this conclusion was more of a downpour than a rustle.

In a minute the chair rose and tapped a few times on the table with an everything-in-its-stride gavel: "The council will be glad to take this report under its due consideration."

The Enemy Pushed Back

"Mr. Chairman," said a voice from the middle of the audience. It was the young man from the WPA.

"Yes, sir," said the chair, pointing the gavel at him like an auctioneer.

"Just a minute, Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy. "I believe I have the floor."

"I thought you had finished," said the chair, with perhaps what I believe is called autonomic thinking.

"No, sir, I have not finished." Cousin Willy pushed the young man back into his seat with a baleful stare. "With this report on record showing the repair of the building to be feasible, we may now ask what, under those circumstances, is the desire of the citizens of Fredericksville. Since it is practical either to destroy the building or repair it, what do the citizens want done with it? As an indication of what they want, I should like to present to you, Mr. Chairman, a petition calling for the preservation of the courthouse, signed by 511 voters and taxpayers." He marched out and laid the handful of mimeographed sheets on the table before the clerk.

"Thank you," said the chair, perhaps with some hypocrisy.

"The preservation of the courthouse being then, in the first place, practical, and in the second place, desired by the citizens, I should like to ask, Mr. Chairman, on what grounds do you base this plan for destroying the old landmark?"

"The answer to your question, sir, is very simple. First, the three opinions we have heard on the practicability of repairing the building stand, one in favor of repairing, two opposed."

"Do you mean to say, sir—"

"As for the claim that a petition signed by five hundred citizens should be interpreted as the desires of a city of eighty thousand—why, even if it had been signed by five thousand citizens—" He smiled and wiggled the handle of the gavel round at the middle of the audience like somebody delving about in a wastebasket for a discarded receipt: "Did somebody back there have a question—"

"Mr. Chairman. These people who want this old rubbish pile propped up, they don't have to work here."

It was the young man from the WPA. "They don't care anything about the working conditions of the laboring man. This old wreck is dangerous. It's a fire trap, the ceilings are falling in, a good gust of wind would knock down two or three chimneys—"

"All that can be repaired," Cousin Willy struck in, but the young man went on with rising emphasis.

"All these people care about is having something pretty to look at as they drive past in their limousines. They don't care—"

"Young man," said Cousin Jennie, who runs a boarding house in a good

neighborhood, getting to her feet, "did I hear you say limousine?"

"I said limousine."

"Thank you. I just wanted to hear the word again; it's been so long."

There was considerable disturbance after this as Cousin Jennie got her pocketbooks and glasses and umbrellas triumphantly settled in her lap again. And the spirit of decorum was not improved by old Mrs. Julian piping across at Jennie, "The last limousine I rode in, Jennie, belonged to the undertaker at Uncle Jesse's funeral." She gave a sort of squawk for exclamation point and her new teeth gleamed in the murky light.

The chair, sensing an incipient disaster, banged on the table and the pile of petitions cascaded to the floor. All we needed was to have somebody let loose a cage of pigeons.

When the clerk had gathered up the petitions and things had quieted down again, the young man was seen to be still on his feet: "I insist, Mr. Chairman."

But the chair deserted him. "This gentleman has the floor," he said, turning to Cousin Willy as perhaps the lesser of the evils.

I couldn't imagine what Cousin Willy was going to do with it; it seemed to me he had already used it for about all it was worth. But when he spoke it looked for a minute as if he might at last be on his way up Little Round Top.

"Mr. Chairman," said Cousin Willy, "I make a motion that the chair call for a rising vote of those in favor of preserving the courthouse—"

"Second demotion," said Mr. Economy and Mr. Wong in a breath.

"Just a minute, if you please, Mr. Chairman," said the attorney rising to his feet with elaborate good humor.

"Mr. Alsobrook," said the chair, with possibly some of the relief of General Sherman making contact at last with the federal gunboats off Savannah.

The Enemy Rallies

"I consider it out of order to call upon this meeting for a vote on a matter that is entirely the responsibility of the duly-elected county officials. It is their responsibility to provide proper housing facilities for the county government; they may ask for any suggestion they care to, but this committee of citizens is not a legally constituted body with power to advise the council in the discharge of its duties—"

"Does a gathering of citizens," said Cousin Willy, "require a government license to vote on a public question?"

The attorney smiled at him amiably: "These gentlemen of the council, Colonel, have been entrusted by the voters with handling the affairs of the county. It is not consonant with the democratic form of government that we all believe in—that we would defend with our very lives, if need be—that they should be swayed by a minority such as this. This is not a matter in which a pressure group should try to enforce its will on governmental authority."

"This building," insisted Cousin Willy, getting the far-away look in his eyes, "does not belong to the county council to dispose of as they choose. It belongs to the people of the city of Fredericksville and the county of Habersham—an army more

than five hundred thousand strong."

The attorney broke into the murmur of amazement at this figure: "I am afraid the gentleman's idea of our population is as exaggerated as some of his other ideas."

Resistence Stiffens

"The figure," said Cousin Willy, "is highly conservative." I thought I detected a slight dismay among the troops, as if even they weren't sure they could go along with him on this; but he pushed right ahead: "This courthouse belongs not merely to the citizens of today, but of yesterday—those citizens who stood victorious with Captain Rudolph upon the ragged terreplain of old Fort Frederick, who looked out upon the pine-barrens where we are now convened and saw the necessity for erecting upon it a new kind of fort, a fort for the defense of law and order, in short, a courthouse. It belongs to their children and their children's children, who enlarged that building and improved it. It belongs to every citizen who has trod the streets of Fredericksville before us. It belongs to the citizens who will tread these streets after you and I are gone, sir. No, the figure is not exaggerated; the only exaggeration was in naming any figure at all, for the owners of this building are as impossible to number as the generations yet unborn—"

The applause that interrupted him rattled the windows. And the chair, possibly with some well founded qualms at this fortuitous ringing in of the "little ones" motif, pulled slightly over on his rudder. "The council is of course interested in the opinions of the citizens; whatever our legal rights, we want your suggestions. It is, however, I feel, inadvisable to call for a vote on the question until all the facts are in evidence. Whatever is done with the building is going to cost the county—that is, the taxpayers—money; it is our duty to take care that this money is well spent—"

"Hear, hear!" said Cousin Willy.

"It is for this reason," the chair went on, "that I want to mention the matter of costs. In order to do the financing of either project we need WPA help. If a grant can be secured from the WPA, it will take care of about a third of the cost. But the WPA is not interested in repairing old buildings. There is every reason to believe that a grant of one third can be secured toward erecting a new courthouse. Nothing at all can be obtained for repairing the present structure."[2]

This sounded to me like the trump card, though it was laid down without much dramatics. It brought quite a noticeable intake of communal breath.

In a minute somebody rose and asked him what was the approximate cost of the two projects, and he held out his hand to the clerk for some papers: "The approximate cost as figured by the architects is three hundred and seventy thousand dollars for a new courthouse, three hundred and ninety thousand for repairing—"

"You mean it would cost twenty thousand dollars less to build a new courthouse than to repair this one!"

"Twenty thousand on the face of it," said the chair. "When you add

[2]Cousin Willy later proves these statements false.—EDITOR.

to that saving, the one hundred and twenty thousand dollars which the WPA would probably grant in labor, you get a total saving to the taxpayers of something like a hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

The Enemy Advances

It was really pretty much a shell exploding in morale's cockpit. Even Cousin Willy's "Preposterous!" afforded no noticeable relief. To my worn nostrils it had a somehow familiar perfume.

It was a little as if Singleterry, the star batter on our ball team, after getting two strikes called on him, really collected himself and put the third one into a trajectory that seemed destined for the canal bank. The chair, obviously relieved, set out on a round of the bases more or less for the principle of the thing.

For a minute it looked as if there was a chance the ball might hit the top rail of the fence and bounce back. "Was this figure arrived at through competitive bidding on the work?" said Cousin Willy, perhaps faltering a little.

"These are not bids for the work," the chair explained coldly. "They are estimates of the probable cost made by experts in the various lines; bids may run a little less, or they may run a little more. It is therefore a question, ladies and gentlemen, of whether to repair the building for approximately three hundred and ninety thousand dollars, or build a new courthouse for approximately two hundred and fifty."

One of the Daughters of the War of 1812 rose to say the building should be preserved no matter what the cost, but the morale of the rank and file had undoubtedly suffered.

"I submit," said Cousin Willy, his campaign hat blown away and a shrapnel hole through the side of his shirt, but standing his ground, "that the specifications showing just what these repairs are that would cost this preposterous sum be presented to this meeting for discussion; perhaps some of them can be modified and the cost reduced."

There was a murmur of approval from the troops but it hadn't the spirit it once had. "And I furthermore question whether a new building of the dignity of this one could be built for three hundred and seventy thousand dollars. In these rooms the delegates of the young state of Georgia assembled to ratify the federal constitution—and just as the last name was signed, Colonel Armstrong's regiment of Georgia Rangers, drawn up across the square, proclaimed the news to the citizens of Fredericksville by a salute of thirteen salvos—"

Retreat

"Unfortunately the county government cannot be conducted on mere tradition," said the chair with a smile. "We are entrusted with the duty to provide the county with adequate and appropriate means for carrying on its business—"

"Let's have the specifications," somebody said.

Somebody else said, "I move that the meeting be adjourned."

"It has been moved," said the chair, "that the meeting be adjourned."

The move was seconded from the

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NRPB Proposes Security Program

"Unless the difficulties are frankly faced and the public accepts the full implication of the proposed policies, freedom from want will not become a reality."

By EVELINE M. BURNS

Director of Research, Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies
National Resources Planning Board

THE simultaneous appearance in March of two reports from the National Resources Planning Board has undoubtedly given rise to some confusion. The first of these, entitled *National Resources Development Report for 1943,* attempts to outline the major problems to be faced by this country in effecting an orderly transition from war to peace in a manner calculated to maintain full employment. The report also suggests, for the consideration of Congress and the people, some of the steps which might even now be taken and some of the policies which seemed to the Board to merit careful consideration for further exploration. It is not a blueprint, but rather an agenda.

Necessarily *the development report* has something to say about social security programs, for it is evident that attainment of freedom from want is an important objective in the postwar world, and, even if full employment were secured, there would still be several millions of people whose security would not thereby be assured. Even today with the fullest employment we have ever known, there are some four million households—composed largely of the aged, dependent children, or the sick—who must depend upon public aid for all or part of their income.

Furthermore, any reasonable planning for the postwar world must at least reckon with the possibility that full employment may not be achieved immediately or continuously. Common sense requires that while there is yet time we prepare ourselves for this contingency by setting up an orderly program to deal with the unemployed should we again face this problem. From this point of view, therefore, social security planning is, as the *National Resources Development Report* points out, a part of the larger problem of planning for the postwar world.

The second report issued by the National Resources Planning Board, entitled *Security, Work, and Relief Policies,* is of a somewhat different character. It represents the fruits of a three-year study of public-aid policies which the Board had begun in 1939. Its objective was to discover the steps which should be taken to assure equal access to security for all our people wherever they may reside and to maintain the social stability and values threatened when people lack jobs or income. In other words, it is concerned with plans assuring freedom from want and the opportunity to work. It is an intensive study backed up by facts and figures.

The findings and recommendations

of this second report represent the unanimous agreement of a special committee under the chairmanship of Professor William Haber.[1] The report was prepared under a director of research with the assistance of a staff of experts assembled by the Board, and with the coöperation of the research staffs of federal and state agencies concerned with public aid programs.

Character of Security Report

The 600-page report presents the first comprehensive evaluation of the many-sided program which the country has developed to meet insecurity resulting from loss of income or jobs.

In all, some sixteen programs were intensively studied.[2] Reference is also made at appropriate points to programs no longer in operation which played important parts in the development of public aid chiefly in the years prior to 1935: relief under the poor laws, state pensions for special groups, state and local emergency relief under loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and grants from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Civil Works Administration.

Throughout the report these various programs are referred to under the general term of "public aid." Reference is made at various points throughout the study to other programs, such as health and welfare services, and their relevance to public-aid problems is pointed out. In view of the time and resources at its disposal, the Committee did not feel justified in undertaking an extensive investigation of these other programs.

The report differs from studies hitherto made in that emphasis is placed upon the fundamental and long-range problems of public assurance of security, and the various programs are treated, not separately and individually, but as parts of a many-sided attack upon this basic problem. Recommendations are pointed toward the development of a well coördinated and consistent body of policies and principles. The Committee particularly stresses the fact that no one of its specific recommendations can be considered apart from the whole

[1]The members of the committee and their affiliations at the time of appointment are as follows: William Haber, Chairman, Professor of Economics, University of Michigan; Will W. Alexander, former administrator, Farm Security Administration; C. M. Bookman, Executive Vice-Chairman, Community Chest of Cincinnati; Corrington Gill, Assistant Commissioner, Work Projects Administration; Rt. Rev. Francis J. Haas, Dean, School of Social Science, Catholic University of America; Fred K. Hoehler, Executive Director, American Public Welfare Association; Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Mary E. Switzer, Assistant to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency; and T. J. Woofter, Jr., Director of Research, Federal Security Agency. Director of Research, Eveline M. Burns.

[2]These programs fall in three general categories:

(1) Employment programs (Work Projects Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, public employment service, and rural rehabilitation loans); (2) public assistance (old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, general relief, farm security grants, and surplus commodities); (3) social insurances (old-age and survivors insurance, railroad retirement insurance, railroad unemployment insurance, state unemployment compensation, and workmen's compensation).

system of which it is an integral part.

The first four parts of the report constitute a factual study which attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of the various measures now operating. The last part of the study summarizes the findings, proposes the adoption of certain broad policies and principles, and applies these to the programs at present in operation to arrive at specific recommendations for individual programs.

Factual Report

The factual report falls into four main parts. Part I gives an account of the development of public-aid policies and programs during the decade preceding the war and sets this picture against the economic and social background of the time. It presents a brief account of the major characteristics of each program and analyzes the social and economic characteristics of the recipients of public aid.

Part II is concerned with the effect of public-aid programs upon the people. Starting from the assumption that the main spur to the development of all these public-aid programs was a concern for the welfare of people, the report asks a number of questions about their operation. Successive chapters are devoted to answering such questions as these: Is public aid in fact available to all needy persons, regardless of their place of residence? Is the level of living provided to recipients of public aid adequate to assure maintenance and is it consistent with the high levels of productivity of this country? Is public aid made available under conditions which are calculated to impair the self-respect and initiative of the recipient? In each case an answer is given for the country as a whole and attention is drawn to differences in treatment of persons in similar circumstances in different parts of the country or benefiting from different programs.

Special attention is paid to the work programs and other measures for the employable population. The report attempts to discover the extent to which work has been made available to all those in need of employment. It inquires whether the major objectives of the work programs—maintenance of morale, work habits, and occupational skills—have in fact been attained, and suggests the reasons for such departures from full achievement of these objectives as are observed. Similar questions are asked in regard to the youth programs. The services rendered by the employment service to unemployed and other workers are also evaluated.

Part III of the report deals with the financial and economic aspects of public-aid measures. The distribution of costs between the different levels of government is stressed in order to determine whether the distribution of responsibility between federal, state, and local governments makes it possible for all jurisdictions to meet need arising within their borders without throwing a disproportionately heavy burden on local taxpayers. Attention is paid to the differing financial responsibilities of the various levels of government for individual programs in order to discover whether existing arrange-

ments lead to the under-expansion of some programs and the over-expansion of others.

The report also inquires into the extent to which arrangements for the financing of social insurance and other public-aid programs have been consistent with the other fiscal policies pursued by government. The chapter dealing with economic implications of the operation of public-aid programs is concerned with such questions as the effect of public-aid measures upon the availability of labor for private employment, on labor mobility, and upon the size of the total labor supply.

Part IV is concerned with the administration of public aid. It deals with the problems raised by the operation of several closely related programs by the federal, state, and local authorities, and also with the administrative problems arising out of the participation of more than one level of government in the administration of any one program. Other chapters in this part deal with administrative personnel and with the extent to which there is citizen participation in the administration of public-aid programs at appropriate points.

In surveying the effectiveness of contemporary public-aid programs, the report draws heavily upon state and local experience, as revealed in reports from local administrators, community surveys, and the studies and investigations of organizations such as the American Public Welfare Association, the American Association of Social Workers, taxpayers associations, and individual students and experts. The attempt to base conclusions upon actual experience within the states is an important factor accounting for the length of the report.

Findings of the Report

The findings of the report are in many respects disturbing. They show that, while we have made great progress toward the goal of adequate and acceptable security, much still remains to be done. Many thousands of people were still denied access to any kind of public aid even by 1940. The standard of living of the vast majority of recipients of socially provided income was low and for some segments of the dependent population disgracefully so. The social insurances still failed to cover many groups for whom this type of social security program would seem to be appropriate. The work programs had never afforded work to all those in need of employment, and the youth programs lacked a clear sense of direction, and in any case provided for only a segment of the youth at any time unemployed.

The financial and administrative investigations also revealed the existence of many problems still to be solved. In particular, the existing method of distributing financial responsibility for the various public aid programs between federal, state, and local governments leaves much to be desired. This is true whether the criterion be adequacy of performance of the service, balanced development of related programs, or the interests of the insecure population or the state and local taxpayer. Similarly, the present administrative organiza-

tion, which involves participation of various levels of government in the administration of a variety of related programs with potentially overlapping clienteles or functions, gives rise to difficulties for the administrators themselves, for the applicant for public aid, for the employer, and for the general public. Important and difficult problems of integration and coördination still confront the nation.

Recommendations

Every attempt was made by the Committee to trace the difficulties or shortcomings revealed to their underlying sources. For the object of the study was to point the way to the development of an adequate and comprehensive system of well coördinated public-aid programs. It was recognized from the first that any proposals would have to take into account the widely varying economic conditions of different parts of the country, the variety of circumstances that occasion a need for public aid, and the existence of a federal form of government. In other words, the Committee was precluded by the realities of American life from proposing any uniform and simple program providing equal benefits to all persons and administered by the national government, such as is envisioned for Great Britain by Sir William Beveridge.

Instead, our recommendations envisage a series of interrelated programs carrying into practical effect the implications of certain clearly stated objectives, and consistently applying certain financial and administrative principles. Only by some such logical and orderly approach, the Committee believed, could the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the past be avoided. The main lines of policy proposed are by now well known: greater emphasis on preventive and constructive programs, public provision of work for employable persons who have been out of work more than six months, special programs for youth aiming to fit them for assumption of the economic and civic responsibilities of adults, extended application of the social insurance programs, an adequate and comprehensive general public assistance program with special public assistance for those whose need is of long or predictable duration, and finally expansion of certain social services, notably health measures.

Space does not permit an account of the more detailed spelling out of these policies in terms of specific programs. It is to be hoped, however, that all those interested in a more orderly and adequate program for the assurance of freedom from want will read Part V of the Report, especially chapter 18, with particular care. For it is the belief of the Committee that unless the difficulties to be faced are frankly realized and the public is willing to accept the full implications of the proposed policies, freedom from want will not become a reality.

Unemployment Insurance: Federal or State Responsibility?

If unemployment compensation is to serve as an effective part of our national social security program it must be so modified as to carry a much larger portion of the burden of unemployment.

By A. J. ALTMEYER
Chairman, Social Security Board

IN ITS Seventh Annual Report to the Congress the Social Security Board has made a number of suggestions for modifying and strengthening the social security program. Among these suggestions are the extension and expansion of the contributory social insurance program, including the establishment of a national unemployment insurance system and the addition of insurance benefits for the sick and disabled to the old-age and survivors benefits now provided.

In addition, the Social Security Board has recommended that federal grants to the states for assistance to the needy aged, blind, and dependent children be liberalized and that the federal government provide federal grants to the states for assistance to any needy individual. All these suggestions taken together would greatly assist the states, counties, and municipalities.

Even with the tremendous increase in employment and wages due to the war program, states and localities are now providing assistance to over five million individuals. The first impact of the cessation of war activities will undoubtedly require many additional individuals to seek relief and aid from their local governmental units. A broadened and expanded social security program will aid the states, counties, and municipalities to meet the inevitable responsibilities which will be thrust upon them in the future.

The respective responsibilities of the federal and state governments are markedly different in the case of social insurance and in that of public assistance. The cost of social insurance is borne by contributions based on payroll and benefits are paid on the basis of wage loss without a needs or means test. The cost of public assistance is borne out of general revenues and assistance is granted only on the basis of an investigation as to the individual's need.

Since the cost of social insurance is related to payrolls, it is important that employers not be subjected to unfair interstate competition because of varying rates of contributions in the various states. In the case of public assistance there is not this kind of unfair interstate competition because the cost is borne out of general revenues.

The benefits under social insurance are related to wage loss. Thus there is an automatic adjustment to the presumptive need of the beneficiaries and an automatic adjustment to varying wage levels throughout the nation. Therefore, there is no necessity for investigation and determination of individual need in the light of local

circumstances as is true in the case of public assistance.

In this article space will permit only a discussion of the problem of unemployment insurance.

In 1935 the Social Security Act, in laying the foundations for our social security program, provided for a uniform national administration of old-age insurance but for separate state administrations of unemployment insurance. At the time the law was enacted, opinion was sharply divided between the advocates of a single federal unemployment insurance system and those who favored separate state systems. Thus, the Committee on Economic Security, whose recommendations formed the basis for the development of the original act in 1935, said:

> A federally administered system of unemployment compensation is undoubtedly superior in some respects, particularly in relation to employees who move from state to state. This presents a problem, involved in state administration, which we do not at this time know how to solve, although we do not regard it as insoluble and recommend that it should be made one of the major subjects of study of the federal administrative agency. We recognize also that in other respects state administration may develop marked inadequacies. Should these fears expressed by the champions of a federally administered system prove true, it is always possible by subsequent legislation to establish such a system. We recommend that it be expressly provided in the federal act that all states must include in their statutes provisions to the effect that those acts shall not be deemed to create any vested interests preventing modification or repeal and that a similar reservation of power be made by the federal government. Accordingly, the Congress can at any time increase the requirements which state laws must fulfill and may, if it sees fit, at some future time, substitute a federally administered system for the coöperative federal-state system we recommend.

Federal vs. State Agencies

The most striking fact developed by an examination of the operation of the Social Security Act since 1935 is the difference between certain features of unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors insurance. Old-age and survivors insurance, being administered by a single agency, requires only one set of records for the entire nation while in unemployment compensation, administered by separate state agencies, there are fifty-one sets of records.

Old-age and survivors insurance provides uniform conditions of eligibility for benefits and uniform rates of benefits throughout the country, so that persons in similar circumstances are treated similarly. In unemployment compensation eligibility for benefits and the rate and duration of benefits vary from state to state so that a worker may find himself ineligible in one state when he would be eligible in another, and his benefits may be higher or lower in one state than in another with the same earnings.

Also, since old-age and survivors insurance is on a national basis, migration from one state to another does not affect an individual's benefit rights, whereas under unemployment compensation an individual may earn substantial wages in several states and yet never become eligible for

benefits because he has not earned enough in any one state.

During recent years it has become evident, too, that with funds segregated in separate state reserves the existing contribution rates are more than sufficient to permit one state to pay fairly liberal benefits while some other state funds will be threatened with insolvency. In old-age and survivors insurance with a single national fund for the benefit of all insured workers, this difficulty does not arise.

Inadequacies of System

While benefits have been made somewhat more adequate for those who are eligible they are still quite inadequate to meet the needs of the unemployed. One of the reasons no doubt is that each state tries to avoid putting any greater burden on its employers than are borne by employers of neighboring states. The Social Security Act was designed to remove this danger of interstate competition by the imposition of a uniform national contribution rate but this was in large part vitiated by the provision for employers' experience rating. As the provisions for experience rating have developed an employer's contribution rate may be reduced to a minimum not because he stabilizes employment, but merely because little was paid out as benefits to workers. Every state is thus under pressure not to increase benefits any more rapidly than neighboring states do. Under such circumstances competition may take the form of reducing benefits rather than reducing unemployment.

An even greater defect is the limited duration of benefits. In both 1940 and 1941 about half of all persons receiving unemployment compensation benefits completely exhausted their benefits before they were re-employed. In one state two-thirds were still unemployed when their benefits were exhausted. And this was in a period of business activity with rising employment. In a time of poor business it would be much worse. If unemployment compensation is to serve as an effective part of our national social security program, it must be so modified as to carry a much larger portion of the burden of unemployment.

Another difficulty deriving from the present structure of unemployment compensation is the fact that, as pointed out above, many workers who are employed in several states in the course of a year may qualify for only limited benefits or may not qualify at all because their earnings are divided between the several state systems. The number of workers moving between states has increased greatly because of war activity and some solution for this problem must be found.

A further problem arises in connection with the utilization of the funds collected. The total now held in all of the state funds combined is over four billion dollars. At the present time the benefits paid in the country as a whole are low compared with total contributions collected. This has led to demands for a reduction in contribution rates. But it must be remembered that the total reserves do not constitute a single national fund from which benefits can be paid in any given state. They are divided

into fifty-one separate state funds, each available only on the basis of employment within such state. It is true that some of these state funds are larger than would be necessary to meet any prospective demands but others are by no means secure.

When we consider the situation in a number of states in the light of prospective postwar unemployment, there appears to be no justification for a reduction of contributions in those states. It is of course desirable to keep contributions to a practical minimum and not build up unnecessary reserves, but it is equally essential that we take into account anticipated future demands in determining what is necessary. If unemployment compensation is to accomplish its purpose, adequate reserves must be built up during periods of good business such as the present to take care of large-scale unemployment in later bad years.

It would be difficult even in normal times to deal with this problem under separate state systems without putting very heavy burdens on those states where unemployment tends to be concentrated and under the impact of the war it is quite impossible. Millions of workers are moving from one employer to another, from industry to industry, and from state to state. The situation is well illustrated by the case of an employer who customarily employs about six hundred persons and has a contribution rate of only ½ of 1 per cent. Today he is employing more than twelve thousand war workers. When war work ceases and the twelve thousand workers are laid off, these workers will be entitled to unemployment benefits. The question arises as to how a state with hundreds of such employers will be able to meet its obligations.[1]

Conclusions of Security Board

These considerations have led the Social Security Board to the conclusion that steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment to make our program of unemployment insurance a more effective instrument for dealing with unemployment especially during the postwar period. The Board is particularly concerned that this matter should not be viewed as an abstract question of states' rights or of federal administration versus state administration. From a legal standpoint, the question of states' rights has probably been settled by the United States Supreme Court when it upheld the constitutionality of the federal old-age insurance system. Justice Cardozo, who wrote the opinion in that case, said:

> The problem is plainly national in area and dimension. Moreover, laws of the separate states cannot deal with it effectively. Congress, at least, had a basis for that belief. States and local governments are often lacking in resources that are necessary to finance an adequate program of security for the aged. Apart from the failure of resources, states and local governments are at times reluctant to increase so heavily the burden of taxation to be borne by their residents for fear of placing themselves in a position of economic disadvantage as compared with neighbors or competitors. We have seen this in our study of the

[1]See "The Impact of War on Unemployment Compensation," *Employment Security Review*, November 1942, pages 3-4.

problem of unemployment compensation. A system of old-age pensions has special dangers of its own, if put in force in one state and rejected in another. The existence of such a system is a bait to the needy and dependent elsewhere, encouraging them to migrate and seek a haven of repose. Only a power that is national can serve the interests of all.

Certainly no one would question that unemployment is at least as great a national problem as old age. So far as invading a field which historically has belonged to the states, the facts are that before the Social Security Act was under consideration, only one state had enacted an unemployment compensation law and it is doubtful whether that law would have remained on the statute books were it not for the fact that the present federal Social Security Act creates an irresistible inducement for the states to enact unemployment compensation legislation. As a matter of fact, it was contended by opponents of unemployment compensation in 1935 that this federal inducement constituted coercion and invasion of states' rights. Certainly those who so contended cannot now logically argue that relieving the states of an obligation allegedly forced upon them in 1935 is an invasion of states' rights. Such discussions get us nowhere, however, in deciding the basic question of what kind of an unemployment compensation system is best from the standpoint of simplicity, adequacy, and financial soundness.

The causes and cure for mass unemployment are beyond the control of individual states. The federal government in the past has been obliged to assume prime responsibility for coping with the problem of mass unemployment and undoubtedly will have to do so in the future. It is vital that there be no division of that responsibility, in order that the related approaches toward a solution may be completely integrated. Government stimulation of private enterprise, public works, and unemployment compensation are all necessary to cope with the problem of unemployment. What is done or not done in one respect has a profound effect on what can or must be done in the others.

During the postwar period, the policies followed in the demobilization of the armed forces and in the termination of war contracts will vitally affect the volume of unemployment compensation payments. On the other hand, the adequacy or inadequacy of unemployment compensation benefits must be taken into account in determining the policies to be followed in the demobilization of the armed forces and in the termination of war activities. Under such circumstances, division of responsibility may well lead to failure to act consistently and effectively.

Pooling of Risks

The essential element in an effective unemployment compensation system is the pooling of risks so that unemployment which is caused by nation-wide forces can be met on a national basis. Our great private insurance companies do not write all their business for a given risk in a single area and certainly no risk needs wider distribution and more general pooling of funds than does unemployment. This is more true now than ever before since war demands have

created a national labor market. If all the unemployment compensation funds built up under the Social Security Act were pooled the present danger of insolvency of the funds in some parts of the country upon the closing of defense plants would be greatly reduced. This means that both the workers and employers of those communities would have greater protection.

If there were established a single national system of unemployment insurance, comparable to the system of old-age and survivors insurance, employers could make a single set of reports for all social security purposes. At present large employers may have to send in a number of different types of reports in a number of states. Likewise there would be a single set of administrative procedures for all employers and all workers regardless of the state in which they operate. Also workers would have all their earnings credited in a single account for all social security purposes. This would make the whole system much easier to understand and would permit many workers to qualify for benefits who cannot do so now because their earnings are divided among several states.

There is some fear that a comprehensive federal social insurance system would mean a huge bureaucracy, controlling the daily lives of our people. It should be borne in mind, however, that what is being proposed is really a government insurance company which would collect premiums and pay benefits in accordance with a specific schedule fixed by Congress. It would have no regulatory powers whatsoever.

The establishment of a uniform national system of records and reports, of benefit standards and administrative procedures, does *not* mean centralized administration. While records and reports should be centralized for purposes of simplification and economy the administration of benefits should be decentralized to the local communities. This has already been done to a large extent in old-age and survivors insurance and in the case of unemployment benefits it would be even more important. Just as in the selective service system and in the wartime rationing programs, it is highly desirable to keep such administration as close as possible to the persons affected. Local insurance offices staffed by local personnel would be responsible for the immediate administration. Advisory boards and appeals boards would preserve local interest and initiative and insure adequate consideration of local and state customs and standards and of special industrial conditions.

Single System More Effective

As the entire social security program is expanded to cover additional risks the inevitable relationship of the several provisions and the essential unity of the program as a whole become even more clear. Separate legislation, separate records, separate reports, separate reserve funds, separate administrative procedures become increasingly burdensome and cause confusion and dissatisfaction and needless expense. One contribution rate, one record-keeping system and benefit-disbursing machinery, so that each of the problems of indi-

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How Fast Are Cities Growing?

War-stimulated movement of population has outmoded 1940 census figures; cities must seek new techniques for estimating growth.

By CHESTER COOPER
Division of Research and Statistics, National Housing Agency

THAT more accurate methods of population analysis are needed in intercensal years is emphatically agreed upon by those working in the field of sociology, public health, economics, and public administration. Although many war-expansion communities continue to predict population trends on the basis of 1940 census data, the decennial census has ceased to be a reliable index of population in many localities.

Now more than ever before there is a need for current population information. The whole wartime administration of civilian controls on a local level depends for its effectiveness on a knowledge of the size and character of the community. The population of the country has never been in a state of flux comparable to the current situation. The opportunity for higher wages in war-activity communities has drawn dairy farmers from Alleghany County to the aircraft plants in Buffalo, school girls from Peoria to the government offices in Washington, construction workers from New York City to the Kaiser shipyards in Vancouver. In addition, there are many small communities—Massena, Elkton, Sturgeon Bay, Pascagoula—which have become so bloated in size as to be unrecognizable to the census enumerators of 1940.

This short-time, war stimulated movement of population is superimposed on a more gradual, long-run trend. The large metropolitan centers are undergoing a de-urbanizing experience which is reflecting itself in the growth of suburban and rural-urban areas. As the decade passes, the census data become less reliable for these areas and this, coupled with the ironical circumstances that other disturbing factors seem inevitably to occur soon after each census has been taken, makes it necessary to develop some techniques of population estimation for intercensal years.

The lack of labor mobility has been one of the weak spots in the economic structure of industrialized countries, and it is only recently that the United States has made progress in overcoming this problem. Periods of depression have been aggravated by the fact that unemployed labor in one section of the country has been unable to investigate opportunities in other areas. Even in periods of general prosperity, this condition has been acute in one-industry and in one-crop communities. Recognizing this serious element of friction in labor demand and supply, representatives of government, industry, and labor are encouraging the movement of workers to areas where employment opportunities exist.

Wartime shifts of population are roughly of two types. The first is

caused by increased demands for labor in already-existing industrial areas. Although this additional employment may be due directly to the war problem, the fact that the community is already a locus of manufacturing activity would indicate that there is some possibility of postwar employment opportunities and that the increase in population will have a semblance of permanency.

The second type of population shift has more serious implications. This movement is to new centers of industrial activity—centers which have been built up for the specific purpose of war production. Industries are now not located in areas affording the maximum possibilities for exploiting economic or technological advantages; strategic considerations are becoming increasingly important. In these areas the 1940 census may be of absolutely no value; here the necessity for some index of current population is most apparent.

Pre-War and War Population Shifts

A relatively small increase in population, especially in established communities soon makes itself evident: housing becomes scarce, stores and restaurants are crowded, a "boom" psychology becomes evident. These circumstances encourage unofficial estimates of population increase which are fantastic in their proportions. This has been characteristic of the present emergency situation.

In addition to tendencies toward over-estimation, there are the problems which arise from the essential differences between pre-war and war population movements. The latter have many deviations from the normal, as shown in the testimony presented to the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, on February 4, 1942, by Howard B. Myers, director of research for WPA, which summarized the investigation of wartime migration in fifty-one cities throughout the country. The report clearly shows the composition of the migrating groups:

> There were relatively few female workers among the migrants; only nine cities [out of 51] reported more than one-fourth of the workers to be females.
>
> In half of the cities the average age of all migrant workers is twenty-nine years or less; in no city does the average rise as high as thirty-five years.
>
> The proportion of one-person families among the migrants at their new locations is extremely high, ranging from 30 to 50 per cent for most areas . . . In half of the towns, 15 per cent or more of these workers left their families behind when they migrated.
>
> Doubling up is common in all of the areas surveyed; in half the areas, 30 per cent or more of the multi-person migrant families are either sharing their dwelling with other persons, or living in hotels and trailers.
>
> The current wartime shortage of housing facilities has been the principal factor responsible for this abnormal character of family composition, living habits, and age distribution in both the old and the new industrial centers. The fact that many workers, unable to find housing, commute from areas as far away as fifty miles results in a daytime population much larger than the resident one, and is responsible for many instances of over-estimation of population.

It is apparent, then, that those people migrating to areas where war

employment is available are not a typical "cross-section" of the total population. On the contrary, they are predominantly male, in their twenties, unmarried or without their families. In areas where this group has become a significant proportion of the total population, e.g., 5 per cent or more, normal standards of age distribution, family composition, and residential patterns do not hold. It is thus inaccurate to utilize indexes which depend for their validity on pre-war concepts of housing, family size, etc. A brief discussion of commonly used techniques of estimation will help in the selection of the most appropriate method.

Possible Indexes

The use of electric or water meters as an indication of population has a major disadvantage at this time in that meters measure dwelling units rather than individuals or even families. In addition, current material shortages often have precluded the use of individual meters for separate dwelling units. These deficiencies disqualify the use of meters, even assuming that the data are readily available and that it is possible to separate the service areas of the utility company from the political boundaries of the community under consideration.

Neither the use of school population nor of birth or death rates is a satisfactory method in the light of the characteristics of the shifting population as described above.

A technique utilizing a city directory, where these directories are available, will give a more accurate picture of population changes than the methods already mentioned. This procedure is an adaptation of one used by the Bureau of the Census in estimating recent population growth in Washington, D. C.

A good approximation of the adult population may be obtained by ascertaining the number of persons listed in the current city directory. The resulting figure should be corrected, if possible, for the number of listed persons living outside the city limits (an estimate of these persons is sometimes available from the publishers of the directory.) To check on the extent of coverage of the directory, compare the total of persons listed, corrected as indicated above, for the year 1940, with the population reported by the census for that year. Since the directory usually lists only adults—eighteen years of age and over—this should be taken into account when using the census data. It may be assumed that approximately the same coverage has been made for years subsequent to 1940 and thus a correction factor may be applied to the 1942 total. If one is desirous of checking on the accuracy of the coverage, the same method may also be applied using the 1930 census as a basis of comparison.

A figure representing the school enrollment, corrected, if possible, to include children not attending school, will give those persons between the ages of six to seventeen inclusive. Finally, the total of survivals of resident births for the last five years, estimated, if not obtainable from the local health officer, will account for the remainder of the population.

The use of this method is limited,

of course, to those cities where directories are published. It is somewhat complicated and opportunity for error is present in each of its three parts. Although the Census Bureau found a 98 per cent coverage for Washington, some directories may be much less complete. In addition, the final figure may be somewhat lower than the true population because of the probable downward bias inherent in two of the components: the directory will not likely give a 100 per cent coverage, even when adjusted, and the statistics on resident births for children of five years old and under will not include those brought into the community by migrating families.

Use of Ration Figures

Information obtained in the nation-wide registrations for rationing has potentialities for the purpose of population estimation. The first of these all-inclusive registrations took place in May 1942, the next in March 1943. Data from the earlier registration have been available for many months. In many of the states they may be obtained on a county-wide basis in the state headquarters of the Office of Price Administration; county rationing boards should have information on the local areas within their jurisdiction.

There is relatively little trouble or expense involved in obtaining information from the registration for sugar-rationing — and presumably from the recent registration. Care must be taken, however, to distinguish between the number of persons registering—which is the information desired—and the number of ration books issued; in many areas this difference is appreciable. An important disadvantage in the use of this method is that it is difficult to determine the number of persons who failed to register. This figure will tend to be larger in areas characterized by a large transient population. Another difficulty is that these registrations may not be undertaken again; however the likelihood of other and possibly more useful types of mass registrations in the near future should be kept in mind.

The Bureau of the Census has made some preliminary estimates of the civilian population by states[1] and by counties[2] as of May 1, 1942. These estimates were based principally on sugar-rationing registration data when they were available; when these data were not available for particular localities, the estimates were based on the trends in neighboring areas.

The procedures outlined thus far are indirect approaches to the problem; the most accurate way to measure population is to make an individual count of all persons in the locality. But a census is expensive and time-consuming, and the accuracy which may be obtained will often not justify the cost; the use of an estimate is thus a sacrifice of accuracy for expediency.

A census undertaken by the local post office is one method—not a very common one—of counting population which is reasonable in time and money cost. In addition, it provides

[1]Released October 27, 1942.
[2]Released February 25, 1943.

more accurate data than the techniques so far discussed. The procedure is simple: the postman stops at every house on his regular route and ascertains the number of persons, both adult and children, as of a particular date; the information is collected and tabulated at the district post office. This census need not be authorized by the Post Office Department in Washington but may be undertaken on the initiative of the local postmaster who may be anxious to obtain detailed information on the efficiency of mail distribution in his district.

One minor difficulty with this method is that the postal district does not always coincide with political boundaries, and it may be necessary to segregate the population reported for the postal district from that portion resident in the city itself.

Schenectady Experiment

In an effort to determine the possibilities of obtaining data on war expansion communities, an experiment was conducted in the city of Schenectady, New York, by the Bureau of Planning, New York State Division of Commerce. This community is the home of the principal plant of the General Electric Company; an important plant of the American Locomotive Company is also located here. Obviously a community with this type of industrial pattern is one that will be affected markedly by population changes in a period of economic activity. In 1940, Schenectady was reported by the census to have a population of 87,549 persons. Current unofficial estimates have claimed that population has increased by as much as 15,000 persons.

The postmaster of Schenectady conducted a census and reported that on May 4, 1942, the city had a population of 93,883 persons.

The sugar-rationing program resulted in a registration of 90,236 people. The clerk of the County Rationing Board stated that approximately 5,000 people in the city did not register, and although there is no way of determining this figure exactly, it ties in very closely with the results obtained by the post office census.

The application of the city directory method in Schenectady resulted in a figure of somewhat more than 95,000 persons.

Schenectady thus has a current population of approximately 95,000 people which represents an increase of 7,500 over the 1940 census. This figure is considerably below the unofficial estimates, which undoubtedly were influenced by the crowded streets and by the acute housing shortage. Many of the outlying areas in Schenectady County have grown rapidly in the past decade, however, and some people commute to work from distances as far away as thirty-five miles, thus giving the city a large daytime population.

Conclusion

Three possible methods of population determination have been briefly discussed: the techniques involving the use of a city directory, school population, and births; the one based on rationing; and, finally, the post office census.

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Contributors in Review

STARTING his career as high school teacher and school principal, **A. J. Altmeyer** (*Unemployment Insurance: Federal or State Responsibility?*) in 1922 became chief statistician, and later secretary, of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission. In 1933 he was appointed chief of compliance of the NRA, beginning his long service for the federal government. Mr. Altmeyer was second assistant secretary of labor from 1934 to 1935 and chairman of the Technical Board, President's Committee on Economic Security, during the same years. In 1935 President Roosevelt appointed him a member of the Social Security Board; in 1937 he became its chairman, which office he now holds. Mr. Altmeyer is also a member of the Interdepartmental Advisory Council, to coördinate health, welfare, and related activities affecting national defense.

LONG a student of social security problems, **Dr. Eveline M. Burns** (*NRPB Proposes Security Program*) has contributed much to the progress of social development. Dr. Burns came to this country in 1926 from London, where she had been a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics, to study problems in her field. She spent 1933 and 1934 in Germany making a study of that country's unemployment relief policies, and later was sent to England by the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council to conduct a similar study there. She is author of numerous books in her field and has acted as economic consultant to various federal agencies. Dr. Burns was a member of Columbia University's faculty from 1928 to 1942. She is now chief of the Economic Security and Health Section of the National Resources Planning Board and during the past three years has served as director of research for the report on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies of the NRPB which she describes in this issue.

AFTER studying at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia University, **Chester Cooper** (*How Fast Are Cities Growing?*) spent two and a half years as staff member of the Department of Real Estate and Land Economics at the School of Commerce of New York University, where he interested himself particularly in the problems of urban land economics in the New York metropolitan area. In 1941 he became economist in the Bureau of Planning of the New York State Division of Commerce, later going to Washington to act in a similar capacity for the National Housing Agency.

AUTHOR who turned local civic leader when his writing led him to examine political conditions on the home front, **Berry Fleming** (*Colonel Effingham at the Courthouse*) is a native of Georgia who was educated in New England. Graduate of Harvard where he was editor of the *Advocate* and the *Lampoon,* Mr. Fleming worked as a newspaperman and had five other novels published before writing the recent best seller *Colonel Effingham's Raid.*[1] The contribution in this issue is a condensation of a chapter of the latter book.

[1]Reviewed in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April, p. 217.

Letters to the Editor

What Is the Short Ballot?

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

Professor Jones, in his article in the April Review, "Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?", could have made a perfectly legitimate argument under the title "Is the Short Ballot Principle Complete?" for I will cheerfully admit that it is not. The short ballot principle is a ballot principle, and is not extended to the debatable ramifications of the ideal way to apply it. It concerns government only as seen by the voter with a ballot before him. The first section of the principle would be violated if the ballot provided for the election of a mayor and a coroner, the latter office being too unimportant to attract public examination even when the ballot is so short as to call for the filling of only two offices. The second section relates to the number of places to be filled; for even if they were all very important ones, confusion would result and the short ballot principle would be violated if there were more than five to be filled at one time.

Accordingly, in a city manager plan with a council of twenty-five—as it was in Cleveland—the election of the whole twenty-five at large by the ordinary plurality voting would leave the voters dependent on ready-made tickets, and violate the short ballot principle in spite of the fact that all were important and all were representatives, not administrators.

When it comes to applying the short ballot principle, I have always favored getting administrative and judiciary offices off the ballot, and leaving only representatives. Nevertheless, I have seen ballots that conformed to the definition, but which continued to elect administrators — particularly mayors and district attorneys who are, to some extent, lawmakers and about whose offices there accumulates plenty of matter for proper public discussion and plenty of public policy.

The moment you go over to the structure of government, as distinguished from the limitations of a practical ballot, you enter a field with many questions of internal organization of the government. Our purpose in the early days was to avoid the discussions of how to set up governmental structure in the various jurisdictions, and keep to the questions involved in simplifying somewhat the voters' task. The short ballot crusade has blended, now, into other crusades; but since its day practically every new charter and new state constitution, and every new form of county government, has given it at least partial recognition and the creation of new elective offices has been halted. The start of the crusade is history.

It is, of course, entirely in order to move on from the short ballot principle to the setting up of sound rules for applying that principle to governmental structure. This is just what the members of the National Municipal League have been doing ever since the short ballot principle was propounded.

Our procedure in 1911, when the Short Ballot Organization was launched, purposely stopped short in its doctrine just where it did to avoid controversy on the diverse possible applications of the doctrine. Woodrow Wilson set me up in business in that way, and I think he was discriminating and wise.

Richard S. Childs[1]

New York City

[1]Mr. Childs, civic leader and former president of the National Municipal League, originated the short ballot idea in coöperation with Woodrow Wilson.—Editor.

How Important Is a Label?

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

In your April issue Dr. O. Garfield Jones asks that the National Municipal League restate the "official" definition of the Short Ballot Principle because the definition the League inherited from the National Short Ballot Organization is "both out of date and confusing."

It is of interest that the heading Dr. Jones gives his article, "Is the Short Ballot Principle Obsolete?" implies more than the article asks for. In his text he limits himself to claiming that the "definition" is obsolete whereas his title questions whether or not the "principle" is obsolete.

What we have posed here is a problem upon which the discipline of semantics may shed some light. The "short ballot principle" is what Stuart Chase would call a "blah-blah term." It is simply an abstraction and a ghost—a sort of shorthand. Yet because it has no objective existence it must not necessarily be dismissed as unscientific. Science cannot, and certainly political science cannot, be held within the narrow bounds of the statement carved on the building which houses the Political Science Department of the University of Chicago. There we read, "Science is Measurement—Lord Kelvin."

Kelvin was an able man and a Scot, and all Scots are sure that to be the latter is to be the former. But another Scot, David Lindsay Watson, in his Book *Scientists Are Human,* claims that science is far more than measurement. He makes clear what science and scientific thinking really are. They depend upon the phenomenon around which the gestalt theory revolves—the recognition of wholes against dynamic background, and the recognition of "likenesses" between such wholes. Sometimes such likenesses are "salient," as when an infant who has fumbled and observed an orange reaches for another "whole"—the moon—because it has the same effect on the retina that the orange has. But sometimes such likenesses are what we call "logical" and so we call that type "scientific."

A definition is an attempt to point out to someone else the logical ties which connect one "whole" with others you see and hope they see. Hence even scientific definitions have a great deal of "saliency" in them. Both a definition and its principle are tools. Tools either wear out or become obsolete because better ones come into existence.

Dr. Jones feels that the definition of the short ballot principle has worn out. But it is also probable that the background against which such a conceptual tool arose has changed so much we can afford to put both the concept and its definition in some place analogous to the Museum of Science and Industry. We have put there other obsolete but valuable tools such as Babbage's adding machine and Sholes' typewriter.

The gestalt theory explains away the inconsistency which Dr. Jones finds in Austin F. MacDonald. As compared to the weak mayor form of government it is correct to say, "The commission plan has been of value chiefly in concentrating responsibility." But background is dynamic and after events gave us manager plan cities it becomes correct to say, "It has failed to concentrate responsibility sufficiently."

Dr. Jones's purpose in raising his question is of the best, and text writers would do well to heed his warning. Public administration has its background and should not be treated as if it existed in a vacuum. Its background is political policy and that is where the citizen functions. The task of the citizen is two-fold: to make de-

cisions as to the ends he wishes his local government to attain and to have some comprehension of the means whereby the administrative phase of his government can achieve those ends. Aldous Huxley, in his recent book *The Art of Seeing,* berates us for being a nation of "end-gainers"—too impatient to carefully consider whether the means we use will accomplish the ends we seek. Those who promulgated the idea of the short ballot were helping along the thing which Huxley urges, for they directed citizen attention to means. They considered carefully all possible citizen means and applied a slogan to those they thought fitted best. It was a slogan or label more calculated to arrest attention than to be accurate. It may be held to be more salient than logical, but it may have been the better for this; a great deal of the thinking of a great many people is of that type. At any rate it "worked." If there is now a growing acceptance of the means the label pointed to rather than described there need be no regret if that label is now laid away amid the fond regrets of political antiquarians.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Cincinnati, Ohio

Liquor Control: Success or Failure?

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Paul Studenski has served in the field of governmental research too long and too well to permit easy questioning of his public statements. My personal regard and respect for him, however, are subjected to severe strain when I read his article on "Liquor Regulation: Success or Failure?", in the April issue of the REVIEW.

For every reason it is to be hoped that Dr. Studenski's analysis and report on liquor regulation in the national field can be substantiated by ample evidence. He could hardly record his present confident conclusions without considerable advance investigation. But I must raise the question whether his inquiries reached into the state of Michigan, which he mentions at one point, and if they did, then I definitely recommend that another survey, more thorough and fundamental, be made in this state.

Limits of time and space prohibit detailed comment on Dr. Studenski's article. Only the high importance of the subject and the rarity of public interpretations compel some response from Michigan in the interest of factual inquiry and intelligent interpretation. One familiar with the real facts in our state situation might be so bold as to follow challenge of the Studenski article with the assumption that it speaks from the higher level of the "Ivory Tower" observer, whose report is not seriously embarrassed by the compulsion of a multitude of disagreeable facts.

Listing objectives of control, seven in number, Dr. Studenski displays an optimism which certainly is not shared by average observers in Michigan, especially in the city of Detroit. It is to be hoped that the record in this state is exceptional, and in bleak contrast with what actually goes on in a majority of the other states. Of the seven objectives mentioned, I should say, offhand, that the only one attained in this commonwealth is "Procurement for the public treasury of a large revenue from the liquor trade."

Now, as I continue to restrain the impulse which looks toward detailed comment and criticism, I conclude this letter with a general challenge to the entire article. This challenge, I repeat, applies solely to conditions in Michigan. It is possible that our proximity to

Canada and our heritage of bootleg conditions, which were notorious in prohibition days along the border between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, may go far to explain our unusual situation as compared with other states—and as reported by Dr. Studenski. But even a mild acquaintance, with utmost lack of prejudice, indicates that liquor regulation is, in our case, a complete failure and is rapidly paving the way for resumption of popular demand for outright, bone-dry prohibition.

This situation also is quite independent of current conditions due to the war emergency. It is a natural result of a decade of so-called liquor control under state law, with total lack of citizen organization and with complete freedom granted to politicians, profiteers, and the underworld racketeers, who did much to contribute toward repeal of state and national prohibition.

What we covet is further and more fundamental investigations in our own state, so that governmental research will not suffer too seriously when viewed, as in this case, by ordinary citizens.

W. P. Lovett, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

HOW FAST ARE CITIES GROWING?

(Continued from Page 247)

Of the three, the use of data obtainable from the registration for rationing purposes is the easiest and least expensive in time and money. Because the number of persons who failed to register is not known, the results obtained from the use of this method are the least accurate.

The method based on the use of the city directory, school population, and resident births combined should give a closer approximation to the actual population than does rationing. Its practical use is limited because of the complexity inherent in the procedure and because the basic information may not be available in every community.

The final technique, the post office census, gives the most complete picture of population growth.

Although some boom communities are undertaking, on their own initiative, the task of determining the extent to which population has increased since 1940, too many areas are entirely unaware of the nature of their recent growth. Until the federal and state governments recognize the need for information on this subject and encourage and assist local governments to develop and administer some form of population measurement, countless communities throughout the country will be faced with problems without the basic information necessary to solve them.

I Am an American Day

IN ACCORDANCE with the resolution passed by Congress and signed by the President in 1940, designating the third Sunday of each May as citizenship day, President Roosevelt has proclaimed May 16 as "I Am an American Day." The President said: "I urge that that day be set aside as a public occasion for the recognition of all our citizens who have attained their majority or who have been naturalized during the past year; and I call upon federal, state, and local officials, and patriotic, civic, and educational organizations to take part on or about May 16 in exercises designed to assist our citizens . . . to understand more fully the duties and opportunities of citizenship and its special responsibilities in a nation at war."

Researcher's Digest: May

Dr. Upson again; more polls in Kansas City; Minnesota division of publications; research topics; city organization in St. Louis; miscellaneous research publications.

SOME one was bound to do it some day, and it is high time that it has been done at last, and by a master. "It" refers to a caustic sentence or two on the subject of conventions of learned societies, and Lent Upson of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has fortuitously dragged it in by the hair in his latest "letter" to public administration graduates, *About Heuristics.*

> This brief letter is about heuristics which means research and is a word that the ponderous thinkers haven't stumbled on as yet—at least I haven't heard it bandied about at the between-high-holiday programs of the learned societies which produce a couple of new cliches each year, and which you should attend assiduously so as to come to know proper people and with a modicum of finagling get yourself on the program or at least as a participant in a "round table," and maybe have a paper published so you can send a reprint to the dean and be promoted to an assistant professorship. Or, if you aren't interested in the rights, privileges and emoluments that attend an assistant professorship, you can drink cocktails with some of the lobby-loungers and maybe pick up a useful idea about a worthwhile job being done by somebody. Thus the holiday season away from your family will not be entirely wasted.

The rest of the pamphlet really deals, in what surely must be called Dr. Upson's inimitable style, with methods of governmental research. There are the usual sound observations dressed up with the usual irreverent metaphorical illustrations (i.e., an explanation of inductive reasoning using experience with blondes as the basis). There are also a number of paragraphs on report writing.

Polls

Certainly the most comprehensive and probably the first poll of municipal opinion on budget questions has recently been completed by the **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City,** which has lately gone all-out for public opinion polling as a research device. More than two thousand people were interviewed by twenty interviewers using two long questionnaires on specific items of city budget policy—and that's a lot of people and a lot of questions. The results and a discussion of the techniques are reported in *Public Opinion on The City's Budget Planning.* Also of recent issue are two *Notes on Public Affairs* which record the results of a poll of public attitudes toward the local police force and the public reaction to a new water-softening plant. In all the polls the prime bogey-man of democracy weakened the findings—ignorance. So many people had never heard of the subject matter of the questions and had no opinions at all.

Words

While the citizenry has every democratic right to know what there is to know about government, too many words, poorly presented, come under the heading of waste, not information, particularly in wartime. That is the underlying thesis of *State Publications: A Field for War Curtailment,* publication of the **Division of Administrative Management and Research of the State of Minnesota.** After presenting table after table detailing the kinds, cost, and attractiveness of current state publications—they're great big tables, too—the state researchers unfold a recom-

mendation for a Division of Publications which would do all editorial work, distribution, and publication for state-issued printed materials. It's all on the same principle as having a doctor do your medical work. Why not some professional writers and editors to coördinate and produce your printed work? Sounds like a good idea.

Wave of the Future

A good index to what problems are troubling the scholars in our universities is a *Check List of Current Research in Public Administration,* Fifth Edition, published by the **Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.** While the Committee probably would not dream of claiming strict accuracy for its lists (to the personal knowledge of this observer quite a number of the *opera* mentioned therein have flunked out into the armed services or have been long since published or long since abandoned), they are still a pretty good barometer of how the public administration wind is blowing. "Personnel" as a research subject wins hands down for popularity. Close behind is taxation and financial administration. Next choices are federal administration, intergovernmental relations, local government and finance, planning, and war administration. There are a number of also-rans which merit the attention of a few lonely souls, of course. The lists give titles, names, university connections, and academic level of the prospective dissertations.

Sad Picture

Only if your reactions have been freshened by not having looked recently upon a municipal organization chart will you enjoy your rightful modicum of shock upon studying a chart of St. Louis' municipal government. The **Governmental Research Institute** has prepared for local and your delectation a beautiful representation of the impossible administrative relationships which now prevail in that city. No less than seventeen separate officers of importance are now elected by the citizenry, making those officers in effect responsible only to their own consciences. As for St. Louis' to-be-pitied mayor, his span of administrative attention must embrace fifteen departments. *Dollars and Sense in Government,* No. 29, has much to say on this subject.

Miscellanea

The red-on-black cover is notable on *A Manual for Alabama Legislators,* published and revised by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.** What-every-legislator-should-know includes lists of legislators, an outline of steps in enacting a bill, a homily on lobbying, and some data on sessions and time of meeting.

You may be interested in knowing that Canada also has to cope with persons who will not exercise the franchise. Four out of five of those legally qualified to vote did not do so at the last municipal election in Toronto, disgustedly reports the **Bureau of Municipal Research** in White Paper No. 276.

Necessity has mothered a lot of improvised fire-fighting equipment in Washington cities and a pamphlet with that title, published by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** presents photographs and descriptions of these wartime flowers of American ingenuity.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Aviation

Illinois Aviation Problems. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1942. 35 pp.

Finance

Financial Data and Other Factual Information for the State of Minnesota Affecting 1943-45 Budget. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1943. 46 pp.

Financial Statistics of Washington Cities, 1941. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities and the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1942. 57 pp., tables.

Fire

Improvised Fire-Fighting Equipment in Washington Cities. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities in coöperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research, 1943. 22 pp.

Health

County Health Departments. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, Research Department, 1943. 25 pp.

Legislatures

A Manual for Alabama Legislators (Revised). University, Bureau of Public Administration of Alabama, 1943. 106 pp.

Municipal Organization

Organizational Structure of Municipal Government, St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* March 10, 1943. 4 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

About Kansas City's Attitude Toward Its Police Force. About Kansas City's Reaction to Water-Softening. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, *Notes on Public Affairs,* March 4 and February 26, 1943, 2 pp. each.

Public Opinion on the City's Budget Planning. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, 1943. 32 pp.

Research

About Heuristics. A letter from a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates. By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1943. 20 pp. (Apply to author, 5133 Cass Avenue, Detroit.)

Check List of Current Research in Public Administration (Fifth Edition). New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1943. 34 pp.

State Publications: A Field for War Curtailment. St. Paul, State of Minnesota, Division of Administrative Management and Research, 1942. 66 pp.

COLONEL EFFINGHAM AT THE COURTHOUSE

(Continued from Page 231)

vicinity of the jury box and the citizens, somewhat confused by the prospect of having to pay over 50 per cent more for an old building than for a new one, made no protest. The councilmen rose as the chair struck the table a final thump, and the battle was over.

Cousin Willy stood there without moving for a minute or two, like Westmoreland, breathless and faint, leaning upon his sword.

I made my way across to him. He didn't seem to recognize me completely, but I spoke to him in my professional capacity and asked him if he had any comment to make for the press. I thought, even at that late date, if he could have answered me with a little Southern humor, all might yet have been well.

But he didn't. The courage (or foolhardiness) to take himself seriously did not desert him for a moment. "You may say," he replied, "that I have nothing but praise for the magnificent behavior of the troops."

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Michigan Secures House Reapportionment

New York redistricting faces court tests

THE legislature of Michigan, which adjourned its regular session on March 26, passed an apportionment act for the House of Representatives but none for the Senate. In terms of population range the districts run from 26,502 for one of the multi-county combinations to 76,222 for St. Clair County and its lone member. The average within Wayne County, containing Detroit, is approximately 74,652.

Upon the basis of the 1940 census there were six counties in Michigan clearly entitled to additional places in the state House of Representatives. These were Wayne, Macomb, Washtenaw, Oakland, and Genesee Counties, urban areas in the southeastern portion of the state, and Midland County which had slipped over the line denoting the possession of a moiety of the ratio of representation. All these received additional seats under the new 1943 statute. Wayne County gains six to give it a total of twenty-seven; constitutionally, with the retention of the moiety scheme and a fixed membership of one hundred, the largest delegation that Wayne could have secured was twenty-nine, although she possesses a population equal to 38.35 per cent of that of the entire state. Oakland County got three more seats, making its total five; Genesee, Macomb, Washtenaw each increased their delegations by one member enabling Genesee to boast of four, and Macomb and Washtenaw two. Midland County, as mentioned before, earned a representative in its own right.

Besides the counties just mentioned, Ingham County was given an extra seat although, under very strict constitutional interpretations of moiety laid down by the courts, that county was not entitled to the third seat, falling shy of moiety by 786 persons. Saginaw County avoided, under the new act, the loss of a third seat already possessed, despite the failure by 934 persons to cross the moiety line in claiming that place. Both of these gestures on the part of the legislature were definitely in favor of an urban interest in the legislature.

However, other relatively large cities in the state did not fare so well. St. Clair County, which contains Port Huron, lost one member, as did Bay County which has Bay City therein. Kent County, with Grand Rapids, remained at five members, and the same was true of Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon Counties, all possessing sizeable cities.

A number of counties now possessing separate representatives yielded them completely under the new statute, and the results of such cession of privilege is to make other counties, lawfully entitled to single members, share that member willy-nilly with these counties bereft of their previous status.

In all the welter of argument over legislative apportionment, scant attention has been given to the issue of a fresh basis of representation. It is here suggested that apportionment on the basis of votes cast for governor, with needful adjustments, could conceivably be used by Michigan for either a reconstruction of one of her bicameral houses or for a single one of unicameralism. Some prior existing district system would have to be frozen as of date, and then the unit of votes,

possibly 20,000 or major fraction thereof, agreed upon. The fractional surpluses might conceivably be taken care of by a guarantee of one member to a district *qua* district, and the additional ones in terms of a unit of votes cast. Further work would have to be done, obviously, to determine the usable districting pattern and the optimum unit of votes.

CHARLES W. SHULL
Wayne University
Detroit, Michigan

New York Reapportionment Challenged in Court

The legislative reapportionment act,[1] recently passed by the New York legislature and signed by Governor Dewey, has been made the subject of court action testing its constitutionality in three suits brought in different parts of the state. It has been called in question partly as to constitutional provisions that the districts shall contain equal numbers of inhabitants, excluding aliens, "as nearly as may be" (subject to certain other restrictions), and also as to whether the act complies with a constitutional requirement that the Senate shall be limited to fifty members except that if any county having three or more senators at the time of any apportionment is entitled to one or more additional senators, the latter shall be in addition to the fifty. The new act sets up fifty-six Senate districts, and it is claimed that this exceeds constitutional limits by at least two.

Montana Reorganization Makes Slow Progress

Although the Montana legislature approved twenty-six bills in its state reorganization program, the major proposals were not adopted. These included general structural reorganization, a personnel administration bill, and a new financial code. Considerable administrative progress was achieved, however, without legislative action. For example, more than three thousand state employees filled out detailed personnel cards and every agency head prepared a comprehensive statement about his agency. This case analysis by the officials made certain desirable changes obvious; and various changes were made and savings effected without executive order or action by the legislature.

Furthermore, from October 1941 to April 1942 Governor Ford issued forty-nine executive orders to agency heads, approving 534 recommendations endorsed by the reorganization committee, according to Fred Bennion, executive secretary of the Montana Taxpayers' Association. Mr. Bennion states further:

"The most important bills passed were those relating to the custodial institutions. These bills modernized the commitment procedure and established more rigid provisions for payment by parents or others legally responsible for those who are committed. In the past, mental illness has been treated as a crime rather than a disease and the commitment procedure has been rather antiquated. A study of the population at the State Hospital showed that approximately one hundred inmates were eligible for discharge or parole, and another hundred properly belonged in the Mental Training Institution.

"Up to the present our State Orphans' Home has been crowded because neglected children could be committed entirely at state expense. Under the reorganization measure passed by this legislature, the cost of maintenance of a neglected child will be shared equally by the state and the county, and the

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1943, p. 198.

Child Welfare Division of the Department of Public Welfare will determine where in the interest of the child it should be placed.

"From an economic standpoint one of the most important measures was that relating to closing the gap in gas tax evasion. Prior to this legislation the State Board of Equalization received reports only from interstate carriers, who shipped motor fuel from refineries. Under the present law, which was opposed very strongly by the trucking interests, all carriers will be required to make reports. This will enable the State Board of Equalization to check the reports of the carriers against the reports of the refineries.

"Three factors were responsible to a large extent for the failure of the major proposals to receive favorable consideration: (1) In spite of the fact that our state financial setup has many weaknesses and the state structure is complicated, the financial condition of the state is excellent and there has been no evidence of irregularities or marked abuses in procedure; (2) The fact that we are now at war made the legislature reluctant to make any marked changes; (3) Lack of harmony in the political party controlling state government made the state reorganization program the victim of circumstances.

"No logical objections were made to the state reorganization proposals and there is a feeling on the part of legislative leaders that, if the bills that failed in this session are introduced in the future, they will receive more favorable consideration."

State Government Reform Marks Time in North Dakota

A complete report on reorganization of the state government of North Dakota was submitted to the 1943 legislature. According to J. M. Cathcart, secretary of the North Dakota Taxpayers' Association, bills were submitted and passed covering that part of the report having to do with uniform accounting by counties,[1] but no action was taken as to state government reform.

A Governmental Survey Commission was set up by the 1941 legislature to investigate and make recommendations. It was composed of Governor Moses, Senator M. R. Young, and Representative T. Trydahl. Public Administration Service of Chicago was called in to analyze state governmental operations and to report thereon. The report was recently rendered.

As the state constitution prescribed a number of elected officials, the report proposes that these serve as heads of various departments, aided in most cases by advisory boards. It also recommended that the constitution should eventually be amended so that department heads should generally be appointed by the governor. The treasurer and the auditor would be elected, however.

Rhode Island Weighs the Direct Primary

The direct primary, one of the key reforms in the platform of the Progressive movement, has never appeared attractive to citizens of Rhode Island. At times they have seemed to derive pleasure from the fact that their state is one of only two in the United States which have steadfastly retained the caucus and convention system for party nominations. When one recalls that Rhode Island was the last of the thirteen colonies to accept the federal constitution, and that it required Dorr's Rebellion to bring about alteration of her own fundamental law, the hard kernel of conservatism and tradi-

[1] See page 272 of this issue.

tionalism in the Rhode Island point of view becomes apparent.

Caucuses and conventions in Rhode Island have revealed the usual difficulties and called forth the usual legislative regulations from A to Z. Of late, sessions of the General Assembly have seen the introduction of bills providing for a direct primary. Three or four years ago a commission studied the question but reported unfavorably.

The current session marks a stepping up of momentum. Governor J. Howard McGrath, in his inaugural address, asked the General Assembly to enact a "fair and impartial primary election law for the state . . . you can register a great gain for democracy if you do this."

A bill to carry out his views was drafted and introduced in the House of Representatives. While it would not provide an ideal primary system, it has no major defects. It is a compromise, representing perhaps the most that could be achieved.

Its coverage is limited to members of Congress and the state legislature and to state office-holders. Local officials are specifically excluded.

It goes to perhaps undue lengths to preserve party reponsibility. Voters and candidates for nomination must clearly announce their party affiliations, and once having done so, they may not change the same within twenty-six months thereafter. This is the "closed" primary to the extreme.

The number of signatures required for nomination petitions would seem to be excessive and unduly expensive for the independent candidate of limited financial means as compared with a candidate having machine support or large private fortune.

Primary election officials are to be bipartisan and nominated by the party committees. It is doubtful whether this is as effective insurance against electoral frauds as the appointment of nonparistan election officials would be.

Arrangement of names on the ballot is to be in alphabetical order, except that an incumbent's name is to be placed at the head of the list of names and also to be set off by an asterisk. Rotation of names on the ballot with the asterisk alone indicating incumbency might be fairer.

It is unfortunate that the bill calls for the return to paper ballots in the primary. The state now uses voting machines in all elections. Inability to get priorities on a metal connection needed to lock the machines to prevent raiding the other party's primary is the alleged reason for not using them in the proposed primary.

At an open hearing held by the House of Representatives at the request of the League of Women Voters, an unprecedented opportunity was given interested citizens to criticize the bill, to support its principles, and to debate its merits with members of the legislature. An amusing objection by two legislators was appropriately nailed. These legislators seemed to see in the direct primary an alien nomination procedure which would bring in its train a reprehensible totalitarian dictatorship, smacking of Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany. It was pointed out that those countries do not use the direct primary, and that forty-six states of the United States do use it in some form without experiencing such drastic changes.

A small state such as Rhode Island, where campaign expenses need not be large and where voters might well have personal knowledge of the candidates' qualifications, would seem an ideal ground for the direct primary.

JOHN W. LEDERLE
Brown University

Missouri Chooses Constitutional Delegates

On April 6, by a very light vote, delegates to the prospective constitutional convention in Missouri[1] were elected. Sixty-eight district delegates—a Democrat and a Republican from each district—who were running without opposition were confirmed. The actual contest was for the fifteen delegates at large. The bipartisan slate, previously agreed upon by the two parties, was elected. Eight of the fifteen on this slate were also on the list supported by the Missouri League of Women Voters, and received the greatest number of votes. The seven defeated League candidates made the best showing of any that were not elected. None of the three women backed by the League was elected; one woman supported by the two parties was successful.

In St. Louis 28 per cent of the registration voted, and in Kansas City only about 6 per cent.

A constitutional amendment to permit the legislature to remain in continuous session, the only other matter submitted to the voters throughout the state, received a favorable vote.

State and Local Personnel Agencies Show Heavy Turnover

A turnover of nearly 50 per cent in the administrative and technical staffs of state and city personnel agencies is indicated by a survey conducted by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Eighty-three of the Assembly's member agencies reporting have lost 240 key staff members since the first of the year, nearly half of the loss being to the armed forces with transfer to federal jobs next in importance.

The turnover has not resulted in a net loss, for there was an increase in the total number of administrative and technical employees since January 1, not counting staff members of agencies established since that date. Many positions left open at the technical level in the public personnel agencies now are being filled by promotion from junior grade positions, and replacements in the junior staff are made chiefly from student trainees the majority of whom are women.

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 591; also p. 263 in this issue.

Delaware Authorizes Absentee Voting

At the conclusion of its 1943 sessions the General Assembly of Delaware unanimously passed a constitutional amendment to permit absentee voting. As this had likewise been passed at two previous sessions it is now a part of the constitution. Enabling legislation was also passed, and will allow absentee voting in the 1944 general election.

Cooperation in City, Regional Planning in Virginia

The Virginia State Planning Board and the League of Virginia Municipalities have made a coöperative working arrangement by which the former, through its division of local planning, will encourage the appointment of local commissions, both in cities and in counties, and render technical assistance to such commissions. Through its field service the League will work closely with the state body to stimulate the organization of local planning commissions and development of programs. The additional costs incurred by the League will be borne by the State Planning Board.

Council Manager Plan News

To meet objections to the bill proposed in the **Pennsylvania** legislature, to permit third-class cities to adopt the council-manager plan, sponsors of

the measure prepared an amendment eliminating the provision that a vote on adoption of the plan could be brought about by a petition of 2 per cent of the voters. This would leave the question to the discretion of the council. Representative Walter E. Rose, a sponsor, said that elimination of the referendum "takes out of the bill the last objections raised in the past to similar proposals."

This bill was commented on with approval by the *Wilkes-Barre Independent,* which carried a favorable explanation of the council-manager plan. The manager plan is expected to be an issue in the fall campaign in **Wilkes-Barre,** when a mayor, controller, and two councilmen are to be chosen. The city council of **Bethlehem,** on the other hand, voted unanimously in opposition to the proposed enabling act.

William T. Howie, of **Towanda, Pennsylvania,** is the fourth man to round out a quarter-century of service as manager. On April 4 he completed twenty-five years in that position in Towanda.

The annual town meeting of **Mechanic Falls, Maine,** voted to continue the town manager plan.

The **Worcester, Massachusetts,** *Gazette* has editorially commented with approval on a statement by Councilman Longwell that the only way to stop increases in city expenditures is to adopt the city manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Hagerstown, Maryland,** voted forty-three to twenty-two in favor of the council-manager plan on March 18.

Carey, Ohio, will vote June 22 on the adoption of the manager plan.

A bill calling for a referendum on May 4 in **Las Vegas, Nevada,** on the manager plan, was adopted by the state legislature.

In **Reno, Nevada,** the Better Government League has had the city manager plan under discussion.

A charter committee is reported to be working in **Burlingame, California,** for adoption of a manager charter.

On April 6 an election in **Corpus Christi, Texas,** resulted in 2,272 votes for candidates advocating a manager plan, and 3,660 unfavorable votes. However, according to Mr. Joe Alsup, a leader in the manager movement in that city, only one-third of the qualified voters participated in the election. He believes that a large majority of the people favor the plan and states that its supporters will try again.

Upland, California, which has been operating with a city manager since 1930, has recently adopted an ordinance strengthening the plan by giving the manager complete administrative and personal authority, except as to the elective offices of city clerk and city treasurer and the council-appointed city attorney. The manager may be removed by the council after thirty days written notice and a public hearing.

The territorial legislature of **Alaska** is considering a bill to enable cities to adopt the manager plan.

A bill permitting **Thomasville, Georgia,** to adopt the manager plan was passed by the legislature in March. A referendum election can be had upon petition signed by one-fifth of the registered voters; it must come within sixty days of the passage of the bill. A majority of those voting would decide the matter.

A bill to establish the manager plan in **Winder, Georgia,** following provisions of the model council-manager charter, has been passed by the state legislature, subject to a local referendum.

Provisions of Council-Manager Act of Washington State

The act permitting cities of less than 20,000 population to adopt the man-

ager plan, which was signed by Governor Langlie of Washington on March 22, includes the following provisions, as summarized by the Municipal League of Seattle.

Cities are authorized to hold special elections on the question of adopting the plan, upon petition of electors equal in number to 20 per cent of the vote cast for mayor at the last preceding election, the special election to be held not less than ninety days and not more than 120 days prior to the next regular municipal election.

If a majority of those voting favor the change, the city will vote at the ensuing regular election for five or seven councilmen, depending on population. Towns under 2,000 population will have a council of five, with a seven-man council for those having from 2,000 to 20,000.

Members of the council will be the only elective officials, all others being appointed by the manager, who is selected by the council "solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications, with special reference to his actual experience in, or his knowledge of, accepted practice in respect to the duties of his office." The manager would be appointed for an indefinite term, subject to removal by a majority vote of the council following a public hearing.

While giving the manager full administrative authority, the act gives the council policy-determining power, also the specific right "to have an audit made of any department or office of the city government and may select the persons to make such audit without the advice or consent of the city manager."

"Except for the purpose of inquiry," the act continues, "the council and its members shall deal with the administrative service solely through the manager, and neither the council nor any member thereof shall give orders to any subordinate of the city manager either publicly or privately. Any violation of the provisions of this section by a member of the council shall be a misdemeanor, conviction of which shall immediately forfeit the office of the member so convicted."

In conclusion the act provides that any city which has operated under its terms for more than six years may abandon the manager plan in a special election called upon petition of 20 per cent of the electors.

Several communities in King's County, outside of Seattle, have evidenced considerable interest in the act, due largely to greatly expanding problems brought on by the war effort.

Winners in National Fire Waste Contest

Milwaukee has been declared the winner of the 1942 Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest sponsored by the National Fire Waste Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The Wisconsin city led among cities of more than 500,000 population and its record was also considered best in competition with the winners of the five other classes.

Other winners, by population groups, were: 250,000 to 300,000, Providence; 100,000 to 250,000, New Haven; 50,000 to 100,000, Topeka; 20,000 to 50,000, Newburgh, N. Y.; under 20,000, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Credit is given for the fire-loss records, educational activities in fire prevention, organization for fire defense, and permanent improvements to eliminate fire hazards.

Four-Year Municipal Terms in Montana

Both houses of the Montana legislature have approved a proposed constitutional amendment that provides for

four-year instead of two-year terms for municipal elective officials. This has been a prime objective of the Montana Municipal League for several years. The measure is to be submitted to popular vote in the 1944 general election.

Census Bureau Shows Effect of War on Population Movement

The civilian population of metropolitan counties increased 2.5 per cent in the 1940-42 period, as shown by the latest estimates of population trends by counties of the United States Bureau of the Census. In other than metropolitan counties the population was estimated to have receded 3.1 per cent. Movements were influenced largely by the flow of people to centers of production for war. The total civilian population of continental United States dropped 0.3 per cent, to 130,982,277 on May 1. Entry of large numbers of men into the armed forces is given as a chief cause.

Civil Service Assembly Regional Conferences Planned

The Eastern Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly will meet on May 9 and 10 at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia. Topics for discussion include pay adjustment, selective service, manpower problems, employee services, and merit system council activities.

The Central Regional Conference meets May 26 and 27 at the Shoreland Hotel in Chicago, with the manpower problem, recruitment and selection, wartime leave policy, and other wartime personnel problems listed for discussion.

The Western Regional Conference will meet in Yosemite National Park on June 4 and 5. Its program will be announced shortly.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Missouri Picks Delegates to Revise Constitution

Citizens wage uphill battle against party domination

IMMEDIATELY following the successful campaign last fall for the calling of a constitutional convention in Missouri, the **St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for the Revision of the Constitution,** representing many citizen groups, decided that its next job was to secure qualified constitutional delegates.

At a luncheon meeting arranged by the Committee the chairmen of the county and city central committees of both parties, who were present, were thanked for their coöperation in the successful campaign. The choice of the sixty-eight district delegates being up to the party organizations on any basis that they might choose, the revision committee expressed its desire to assist in an advisory capacity in securing qualified delegates. The party chairmen present committed themselves to such coöperation but announced they could not speak for their parties. Publicity was given this meeting and the party chairmen's acceptance of the advisory idea.

A list of 220 names for district delegates were sifted from a much larger number submitted by the League of Women Voters, College Clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Bar Association, and others of the eighty-nine organizations sponsoring the constitutional convention. These names covered the six senatorial districts in St. Louis and one in St. Louis County, calling for the selection of fourteen delegates, one for

each of the two parties, by the party committees.

Both the Republican and Democratic State Committees recommended the holding of delegate conventions to select district delegates and mass meetings were advertised in each ward. Civic groups, however, fell down in their participation. As a result purely partisan, and in many cases unqualified, men were chosen. In only one contest, with the help of the papers, was the best man selected. We discovered, too, that the chairmen of the Central Committees could not speak for their committeemen who in several instances put themselves in as delegates. The press strongly criticized the parties on selling out the people for purely partisan purposes and called on the responsible party leaders to choose qualified men and women for the fifteen delegates-at-large.

The **Missouri League of Women Voters,** always on the job, came out with a slate of recommendations for delegates-at-large and circulated nominating petitions for twelve of them, getting over 80,000 signatures in a week's time. The League's activity and acceptance of its slate by the papers did much to create public opinion, forcing the party committees to put eight of the League's fifteen candidates on the single slate endorsed by the two parties. Practically the only campaign was waged by the League of Women Voters, although the Crusaders, a group sponsoring a unicameral legislature, put out a slate endorsing fourteen of the League's candidates and adding four of their own.

A decided jolt was given to the Citizens Campaign for qualified delegates-at-large when the Secretary of State arbitrarily placed the bipartisan slate at the top of a ballot of thirty-four contestants. This had been done in 1920 with the result that the top fifteen were elected and the vote for each candidate dwindled with his position on the ballot. Protests made by the League and the papers were of no avail. One of the delegates, who stood thirty-second on the ballot, got out an injunction against the Secretary of State, but the Supreme Court in a hurry-up decision held that as both parties represented about 99 per cent of the voters and as there was no law ruling on the subject and a 1920 precedent for the action, the Secretary of State was within his rights to make his own ballot.

The League of Women Voters printed some 600,000 sample ballots which were given wide distribution, but the political parties sent to their workers throughout the state a million sample ballots listing just the first fifteen out of the thirty-four on the ballot with the admonition, signed by the chairmen of both State Committees, to "vote for the first fifteen candidates on your ballot—support your party by upholding these recommendations at the special election on April 6."

Few People Vote

The handicap proved too much. Added to this, a general apathy and preoccupation with the war, ignorance on the part of the public as to what a constitutional convention is all about, the shifting of thousands of war workers who were not registered in their new localities, thousands of men in the service, no major contests throughout the state, a consequent reduction in the number and convenience of polling booths, war workers and farmers unable and unwilling to leave their work, and gas rationing, resulted in a 25 per cent vote throughout the state. Kansas City which had no other election polled only 6 per cent of its registered vote.

The press in St. Louis and Kansas City did a fine job of stressing the

importance of the convention and the choice of qualified delegates but everything seemed to conspire to favor the purely political elements.

There was much satisfaction, however, with all the disappointments, in the results secured by the citizens' group. While the bipartisan slate of fifteen was elected, eight of the bipartisan candidates, taken from the slate of the League of Women Voters, headed the list with majorities averaging 25,000 above the purely partisan slate. All of the League's recommendations ran ahead of candidates not on the bipartisan slate.

Ballot Positions Help Winners

The long ballot added to the confusion and favored the bipartisan slate but many voters took care in checking their candidates so that—contrary to 1920—while the top fifteen won, the vote was not altogether in the order of their positions on the ballot.

One of the biggest disappointments was the failure of the voters to elect three outstanding League leaders—Mrs. George Gellhorn, Mrs. Virgil Loeb, and Mrs. John A. Harris. Mrs. Gellhorn was beaten by only 6,500 votes by the only politically endorsed woman candidate on the slate, who ran fifteenth.

Mrs. J. Hardin Smith, Jr., chairman of the League's Campaign Committee, said that members of the League were immensely pleased with the result. Analysis of the returns showed, she said, that if the Secretary of State had had more faith in democratic processes and had given all candidates a fair chance by rotating their names on the ballot the League's entire slate of fifteen would have been elected. In St. Louis County thirteen of the League's candidates headed the ballot.

The St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for Revision is now sending to the successful delegates copies of the National Municipal League's *Model Constitution* with its compliments.

Delegates-at-large endorsed by both the bipartisan slate and the League of Women Voters, who headed the poll, are: Robert E. Blake, Allen McReynolds, Ethan A. H. Shepley, William L. Bradshaw, Richard S. Righter, R. W. Brown, Lewis E. Meador, and Stratford Lee Morton.

It is expected that these men, with a few outstanding district delegates chosen by the party committees, will furnish leadership and direction to the coming convention.

Various citizens' groups, including the League of Women Voters, are now preparing to focus on the changes that should be written into the new constitution.

Stratford Lee Morton,
Chairman
St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution.

Chicago's Union League Club Sponsors Many-sided Program

The Union League Club of Chicago, founded in 1879, concentrates its activities in the governmental field in its Public Affairs Committee which not only launches projects of its own but also coöperates with other organizations on city and statewide projects. The Committee is authorized to create and appoint its own subcommittees and also to raise and administer special funds for projects separate and distinct from the general funds of the Club.

From its founding until 1919 the Club had a "political action committee" to further its objectives. The committee was coördinate with the board of directors and was elected by and reported directly to the members. After World War I the political action committee and a special war committee were

merged into the present Public Affairs Committee. The Club has a tradition of nonpartisan activity in public affairs, although political action may be taken by vote of the members.

The Public Affairs Committee has carried on a four-phase program: (1) it arranges for discussions of questions of public interest for the information of its members; (2) it formulates recommendations expressing the attitude of the Club toward public issues; (3) it systematically fosters the coöperative principle in promotion of civic activity in Chicago; and (4) from time to time undertakes special civic projects.

Seven Subcommittees

The Committee, under the general chairmanship of Holland M. Cassidy, for many years a member of the National Municipal League, currently has seven sub-committees enlisting the active interest of 375 members, or approximately 21 per cent of the Club's Chicago membership, on the following subjects: city manager plan, election, postwar reconstruction, public administration, public finance, schools and transportation.

Each subcommittee blocks out its own program. Some of the groups continue from year to year, with changes in personnel, and with other civic groups develop coöperative projects in their fields of interest.

Considerable attention is now being given to postwar reconstruction. In recent weeks Dr. Charles E. Merriam, Federal Works Administrator Major General Philip B. Fleming, Dr. Theodore O. Yntema and Paul Hoffman and associates of the Committee on Economic Development, have addressed the Committee.

The Club's committee on city manager plan had a leading role in initiating and later developing the movement in Illinois to obtain a permissive city manager–P. R. statute. The Chicago City Manager Committee was organized as a result, in part, of conferences called by the Club to develop interest in the idea. The chairmen of that group—Frederick Adams Virkus and H. Barry McCormick, are club members and also have been chairmen of the Club's city manager committee. The Club has also fostered the coöperative Illinois Council-Manager Conference which promotes the movement on a statewide basis. The writer, except for a two-year period, has been secretary of the Conference and is currently treasurer as well.

Cooperation with Other Groups

Similarly, the club has taken part in other coöperative movements, including the Chicago Civic Conference, the Joint Committee on the Merit System, the Joint Committee on Voting Machines, the Joint Committee on Public School Affairs, and the Joint Civic Committee on Elections.

The latter group includes the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Citizens' Association, the Cook County League of Women Voters, the City Club, the Women's City Club, and the Chicago Bar Association, which are coöperating in a plan for "policing the polls" at all elections. Volunteers are recruited by the coöperating groups and then trained and assigned through a central headquarters. The volunteer watchers may only observe, but their presence acts as a deterrent and their reports provide evidence for subsequent criminal action by the County Court if circumstances warrant. In one election more than seven thousand observers were recruited. Union Leaguers take an active part in the work. For several elections past the Club's part has been to work in the famous First Ward; its clubhouse serves as ward headquarters for election day activity.

The Club's committee on schools, in coöperation with Altrusa and other groups, sponsors an annual vocational conference for Chicago high school youth. Student delegates attend the three-session, all-day meeting and take back information to their groups.

The Club is now coöperating with the Citizens' Association of Chicago by literally "lending a hand." When the executive secretaryship of the Association became vacant last fall, the writer was requested to become acting executive secretary, which position he still holds with the Club's sanction.

Among several special projects initiated by the Club's Public Affairs Committee is the Union League Foundation for Boys' Clubs. The foundation, manned by Union League members and supported by voluntary contributions of members, maintains two boys' clubs for underprivileged youth in congested Chicago areas and a summer camp in southern Wisconsin.

The Club created a special war service committee to foster its part in winning the war. Ninety-two club members and thirty employees are in the armed services. Many others are in civilian war positions and almost to a man the members are active in civilian defense.

In addition to giving emphasis to the war effort among its own extensive clientele, the Club has given coöperative assistance since the spring of 1942 to the War Manpower Commission and its agency, the United States Employment Service, in the matter of enlisting youth in the Chicago area for farm service. The WMC appointed the Advisory Council on Farm Placement with a Union League delegate as chairman and the writer as secretary.

This council has served as a clearing house of policy and related questions for the WMC, the public and parochial schools, and youth agencies such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts, CYO, etc. In 1942 the council, with the assistance of the Club, issued a booklet containing information to orient city youth enlisting for farm service and a report on labor camp standards outlining minimum requirements for housing, sanitation, recreation, etc. This report has been adopted by the USES as an advisory basis of conditions to be met by employers filling orders for groups of youths for seasonal crop work.

The Union League Bulletin, monthly publication of the Club which is edited by the Public Affairs Committee's secretariat, provides a means of reporting to the club membership, which resides not only in metropolitan Chicago but also in thirty-eight different states, concerning the activities and recommendations of the Club's civic committees. All civic addresses are either summarized or reported in full. Many also are reissued in pocket size for private distribution by members.

Edward M. Martin, *Secretary*
Public Affairs Committee
Union League Club

Chamber of Commerce Urban Committee Plans Pamphlets

The Conference Committee on Urban Problems,[1] sponsored by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, voted at its second meeting in Washington March 31 to publish a series of pamphlets on postwar urban problems.

These pamphlets will deal with such questions as postwar highway policy, fiscal policies of cities and states, planning procedures for urban areas, effects of war housing on housing standards, blighted areas, state legislation affecting urban development, recreational facilities, and others.

[1]See also "Communities Urged to Solve Postwar Problems," National Municipal Review, February 1943, p. 104.

This proposed pamphlet series is part of the following program of the Conference Committee which was adopted to serve as a basis for the Committee's work.

1. Purpose of Committee

The Conference Committee provides a forum for the discussion of urban problems of all types with special reference to those involving postwar conditions. The Committee plans to furnish local organizations and community interests with information to aid in the formulation of solutions or in the education of community leaders. At no time will it take any action which commits the group to decisions or conclusions except in relation to its own procedures. The Committee will, however, exercise a reasonable control over the subjects and the emphasis to be given to the subjects it considers.

2. Specific Activities

The procedural program includes three activities:

(a) Conference meetings. Meetings of the full Conference Committee are to be held at convenient intervals in Washington. Typically, these meetings will be one-day sessions at which several speakers will be invited to discuss selected topics, with discussion by the members.

(b) Pamphlet series. The Conference Committee will publish a series of pamphlets, uniform in size and style, each on a selected subject coming within the general purview of the Committee's field. The Committee will try to bring out varying points of view and significant differences of opinions and approaches.

(c) Radio forums. In line with the two foregoing suggestions, there is the opportunity to present radio forums on selected subjects within the field of the Committee. In general such broadcasts would be built around those particular urban problems which have a relatively wide appeal.

3. Relation to the United States Chamber

Sponsorship of the President and the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is dependent upon the understanding that the program of the Conference Committee on Urban Problems shall not commit the Chamber or other participating organizations on any policies with respect to the problems considered. The Chamber sponsors the enterprise solely for the purpose of providing an adequate vehicle for the authoritative exchange of all significant points of view.

Members attending the March 31 meeting participated in the following program:

"Structure of Cities as Revealed by Census Data"—Philip M. Hauser, assistant director, Bureau of the Census.

Discussion: "Essential Community Information"—Ernest M. Fisher, director of research in mortgage and real estate finance, American Bankers Association; Howard G. Brunsman, chief, housing statistics, Bureau of the Census.

"New York State Program"—Holden A. Evans, Jr., executive secretary, Temporary State Commission for Postwar Public Works Planning.

Discussion: "Advance Preparation of Plans"—Hal H. Hale, American Society of Civil Engineers; D. K. Este Fisher, Jr., American Institute of Architects.

"General Development Plans for Urban Areas"—Abel Wolman, chairman, Maryland State Planning Commission.

Discussion: "Comprehensive Urban Area Planning"—Walter H. Blucher, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials; Alfred Bettman, Moulinier, Bettman and Hunt, Cincinnati.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

California Committee Suggests Conservation of State Surplus

Recommends postwar reserves, debt and tax reductions

A PROGRAM combining conservation of state resources with tax reduction has been recommended to Governor Warren and the California legislature by a citizens committee which recently submitted its report on what to do with a prospective surplus of nearly $228,000,000 by the end of the 1943-45 biennium.[1]

California's general fund has been laboring under a deficit for many years, but with income increased by accelerating war production the current biennium is expected to see the $68,000,000 deficit of June 30, 1941, transposed into a surplus of about $89,000,000 at June 30, 1943. Further, income during the biennium ending June 30, 1945, is expected to exceed expenditures by $137,500,000, barring changes in existing tax rates, exemptions, etc.

The Committee's problem was to decide what to do with the surplus. An important consideration was to take maximum advantage of the present period of high income to provide a "kitty" for postwar years. Hence, the Committee's recommendations look to the retention of a surplus of roundly $56,000,000 at the end of the biennium, after setting aside nearly $75,000,000 for war and postwar reserves and debt reduction, $80,000,000 for state tax reduction, and $16,000,000 for increased state aid. These figures compare with estimated expenditures for the 1941-43 biennium of $341,000,000 and of $331,000,000 for the coming biennium.

The $75,000,000 which the committee wants appropriated for reserves and debt reduction would go $33,000,000 for a state postwar construction fund, $25,000,000 for a war catastrophe reserve (to be used as and if needed), $2,300,000 to retire state bonds issued in 1873, and $14,600,000 to meet principal and interest on certain state bonds payable during 1945-49. The latter item would be set aside in U. S. securities to meet the maturities as they fall due since the bonds are not callable.

The $80,000,000 to be applied to tax reduction would be split three ways. About $37,000,000 would go for reduction of the state sales and use tax. The committee estimates the rate could be reduced from 3 per cent to 2 per cent, and drugs, medicines, and prescriptions exempted within this amount. Another $25,600,000 would go to reduce the personal income tax. This would provide for reduction of the maximum rate from 15 per cent to 7 per cent, for the increasing of the exemption from $1,000 to $1,500 for single persons and from $2,500 to $3,500 for married persons, and for the provision of a credit of 25 per cent of the tax.

Finally, $17,500,000 would allow a 25 per cent credit against the bank and corporation franchise tax and corporation income tax. The 25 per cent credits would be withheld by the taxpayer and would operate to reduce his tax payments. While this method of granting income tax reductions is of course regressive in its effect, there is obvious justification for it as an expedient in a period when the combatting of inflationary tendencies is of importance.

The $16,000,000 earmarked for increased state aid is tentatively ad-

[1] Cf. *Governor's Tax Committee Reports. The Tax Digest,* April 1943, p. 123 ff.

vanced by the Committee in a recommendation that this amount be used by the state to assume one-half the cost of aged aid now being borne by the counties.

While it must be understood that the Committee's work is binding on neither the state administration nor the legislature, it seems clear that the California Citizens Committee has produced a program which will be closely watched elsewhere. The tax reduction afforded should the recommendations be adopted is considerable, while the state's resources are not permitted to dwindle in the progress.

Legislature Rebuffs New York City on Tax Proposals

The Republican majority played along with New York City Democrats in the New York State Assembly to defeat Mayor LaGuardia's proposal that the city be permitted to restore the city sales tax to the 2 per cent rate prevailing prior to July 1, 1942. Action was withheld by the legislature on other important phases of the Mayor's program for balancing the 1943-44 budget, including assumption by the state of state court costs now carried by the city, and authorization of city purchasing of Board of Education non-educational supplies and of city control over salaries of Board of Education non-teaching personnel.

The failure of the legislature to implement the Mayor's budget-balancing program meant that a $32,000,000 decline in general fund revenues for the coming year had to be offset by stop-gap devices. In his executive budget submitted to the Board of Estimate on March 31, the Mayor noted that he had effected a gross saving of nearly $43,000,000 to hold the new budget nearly $25,000,000 below that of 1942-43. The gross reduction in the budget was reduced by $21,000,000 of increases in mandatory appropriations, and by $8,000,000 provided for wage and salary increases to low-bracket city employees. On the revenue side, the $32,000,000 expected decline in general fund revenues was partly offset by an increase of $18,000,000 in ad valorem property taxes.

The increase in the ad valorem property tax levy is estimated to raise the tax rate from the present $2.76 to around $2.94 per $100. This proposed increase is causing a considerable rumpus among the various realty pressure groups in the city, and it is considered likely that the final budget may differ considerably from the executive budget first submitted. In fact, in the closing days of the state legislature, when it was plain that the city was not to be granted the home rule powers on revenues which it was seeking, talk was plentiful of a special session to consider New York City finances. Some people believe that the Mayor in submitting a budget calling for increased property taxes has deliberately provided the legislature with its cue to hold a special session.

New Jersey and New York Legislatures Weaken Local Finance Control

By a close vote the New Jersey legislature on April 13 overrode Governor Edison's veto of a bill permitting suspension of cash basis provisions of the state's municipal budget laws. At the same time, a bill was before Governor Dewey of New York which, if approved, will vitiate provisions of that state's local bond law by permitting promiscuous funding of operating deficits.

The New Jersey legislation was sponsored by Atlantic County legislators for the benefit of Atlantic City, and its chief feature was the elimination of the provision that budgets must in-

clude an allowance for anticipated tax delinquency. (In effect, the inclusion of the allowance operates—with other provisions of the law—to hold the amount which the unit may appropriate to the amount of cash which it may reasonably be expected to have available during a given year.) The bill originally included a provision to relax the control of the state's Municipal Finance Commission over municipalities subject to its supervision, but this provision was omitted from the act as passed over the Governor's veto.

The effect of the bill is to permit Atlantic City to omit from its budget a $910,000 reserve for tax delinquency, thus anticipating 100 per cent collection during the fiscal year, and to retain an anticipation of $660,000 from delinquent taxes. The county's assessed valuations were sharply reduced for 1943, and an increase in the tax rate from about $5.95 to $7.40 per $100 was prospective. By unbalancing the 1943 budget by nearly $1,000,000, the tax rate may be held at the former level.

The bill before Governor Dewey of New York would permit New York State municipalities to issue five-year funding bonds to provide money for emergency salary increases. It does so by "interpreting" the constitutional amendment limiting bonds to the estimated useful life of the project to mean that salary deficit funding has a five-year "useful life." The bill has been widely criticized by various organizations and individuals urging the Governor to exercise his veto power, but as we go to press its fate is still in doubt. However, a veto will kill this bill, since the New York legislature has adjourned.

Both the New Jersey and New York proposals exhibit in the worst way possible some of the fallacious thinking which always appears in times of financial stress. No service is done to taxpayers by postponing the meeting of costs; on the contrary, deficit financing is one of the surest ways known to add to the burden the taxpayer must bear and at the same time introduce elements of confusion and instability which may for years be a plague to sound budgeting.

Income and Sales Taxes Stand Constitutionality Tests

State income, sales, and chain store taxes are among those most frequently attached in the courts. Of the thirty-four states levying income taxes, only four—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee—have had acts thrown out by the courts; Pennsylvania's personal income tax was declared invalid although the corporate tax was upheld. In eleven states the income tax has been upheld against constitutional attack; the laws of eighteen other states have not been challenged. Illinois and Washington are the only states where no income tax has proved acceptable to the courts, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators.

General sales and gross receipts taxes have been held unconstitutional in two states—Illinois and Vermont; in Illinois, however, a "retailers' occupation" tax measured by gross sales, has proved acceptable. The Maryland law, sustained in 1935, expired in 1936.

In Ohio the sales tax was upheld in principle, but the law was never questioned directly; in Wyoming the sales tax law never has been litigated, though the state's use tax has been upheld. Sales or gross receipts taxes of eight other states have been upheld, while twelve have not been questioned. Sales taxes of Kentucky, New Jersey, and New York expired or were repealed without court rulings.

Twenty states have chain store taxes in operation, of which fourteen were litigated. Kentucky's original chain store tax was held unconstitutional and a decision on the present state law is pending.

Of the chain store levies upheld by the courts, Florida's was held unconstitutional in part by the U. S. Supreme Court in *Liggett* v. *Lee*. The part of the tax based on gross receipts, which was invalidated, was held separable from the rest of the act, which was allowed to stand.

Unchallenged laws were repealed in Arizona and Maine and allowed to expire in Minnesota and Wisconsin, the Federation said. In California the law was recalled by referendum.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 224)

ceptance. Clearly they must be realistic and designed to avoid unplanned, wastefully expensive programs whether they be in the name of relief or any other cause.

Much can be expected from the current planning by industry and other private enterprise but it would be folly for our natural hope that such planning will restore a normal self-operating economy to discourage governments from also making plans. Just as military and naval offices of the major nations always have files bulging with detailed plans for attacking and defending strategic spots throughout the world, we should develop methods of foreseeing and being ready to meet peacetime human emergencies with both offensive and defensive action. The livelihood of our people is surely as important in peace as in war. But let's keep our plans on a simple, realistic basis.

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

North Dakota Improves County Accounting

1943 laws replace ancient practices with up-to-date methods

THE 1943 session of the North Dakota legislature passed some sixteen laws eliminating obsolete provisions and improving accounting, auditing, and budgeting procedure in county government. These laws provide in part that the state examiner shall prepare a county accounting manual and that he shall assist in securing the adoption of a uniform accounting system for all counties.

Heretofore, county accounting procedure has not only lacked uniformity, but it has been archaic in the extreme. The laws were based on conditions existing prior to the advent of typewriters, adding machines, and bookkeeping machines, and they assumed county expenditures of only a few thousand dollars. Some counties have voluntarily made improvements in their accounting practices within the limits allowed by law.

Efforts to secure uniform accounting in county government were initiated as early as 1934 when the North Dakota Taxpayers Association voted in convention to instruct its officers to work toward such objective. In 1941 the state legislature authorized the Governmental Survey Commission[1] to conduct the necessary studies. The Public Administration Service was employed by the Commission for this purpose. The Commission's report, based

[1]See also p. 258 of this issue.

on the survey, was submitted to the 1943 legislature and was accepted by it. Final adaptation of the manual and changes in the county accounting, auditing, and budgeting systems will be developed gradually in order to cause the least possible amount of disruption.

Westchester County, N. Y., May Vote Again on Small Board

The Civic League of Westchester County, New York, and the Committee of 100 of Yonkers are developing tentative plans to place on the ballot again next November a charter amendment reducing the County Board of Supervisors to a fraction of its present size. A similar amendment was defeated by the voters in November 1941, but the affirmative strength shown has encouraged proponents of the measure to give further consideration to the possibility of effecting this reform.

Los Angeles County Employs Women Tax Assessors

Los Angeles County, California, is solving its manpower problem by hiring women as personal property appraisers. These are temporary positions formerly filled only by men. The five hundred women recruited were given an intensive training course before assignment to their tasks.

Colorado County Makes Civilian Defense Self-supporting

Larimer County, Colorado, coöperating with cities and towns within it, financed all 1942 civilian defense costs through sale of scrap and other salvaged material. Publicly-owned trucks collected four hundred tons of scrap the sale of which netted approximately $3775. With these funds the local defense organization acquired equipment for its medical unit, supplies for the central control room, and other defense items.

Wilson County, N. C., to Entertain Service Men

In what may prove to be a forerunner of new county government activities, North Carolina recently passed a law (H. 57) authorizing Wilson County to join with the city of Wilson "to acquire, equip, and maintain a house or other quarters for the relief and entertainment of transient members of the armed forces of the United States."

The act provides furthermore that the cost shall not exceed $10,000, that it shall be borne equally by county and city, and that the property may be leased to the USO or similar agency.

New Hampshire Towns to Entertain Inducted Men

The New Hampshire legislature has enacted a law (C. 34) permitting the towns of that state to appropriate funds for "entertainments for men of that town at the time of their induction into the armed forces of the United States in time of war."

Washington State Expands County Police Power

The continuing trend toward enlarging the police powers of counties is evidenced again in the law enacted by the 1943 session of the Washington state legislature (House Bill 243) which declares county boards of commissioners are empowered "to make and enforce, by appropriate resolutions or ordinances, all such police and sanitary regulations as are not in conflict with state law, and provide that any violation of such regulations, ordinances, or resolutions shall constitute a misdemeanor."

Proportional Representation
Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A Study of P. R. in Northern Ireland

Case history of system under unusual circumstances

IN *Social Research* for September 1942 Dr. Arnold Brecht reviewed favorably F. A. Hermens' *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation.*[1] It is of interest to note, however, that in some instances where Dr. Brecht had specific information of a political situation in which P. R. was a factor, he could not agree that it was so deserving of opprobrium as Dr. Hermens always finds it to be.

One reference Dr. Brecht makes is to *Proportional Representation in Northern Ireland: Its Adoption, Use, and Abolition,* by David Glickman. This is a thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the New School of Social Science, New York City, in 1941. A copy is in the library of that institution and one is also in the library of the National Municipal League. It is a pity that funds are not available for its reproduction, for it deserves a place in the libraries of institutions where the study of the democratic process goes forward. If the keen young students of Notre Dame University were to read it they might question, as does Dr. Brecht, the all-out position against P. R. taken by one of their preceptors. Many of them come from homes where they have often heard some of the names mentioned by Mr. Glickman—John Redmond and Joseph Devlin, for instance.

The thesis is a case study of the use of P. R. under unusual political circumstances and, so far as a hundred pages of double-spaced typescript permit, is as complete a job as could be asked for. The space is given almost entirely to what was said and done by the principals of the drama and to some simple statistics; the writer almost suppresses his own interpretations until he gives his overall conclusions at the close. He does his best in the opening chapter of little more than a page to sketch in the historical background.

Not all of Ulster was Protestant and, therefore, Unionist when P. R. was first bruited. Glickman's figures for 1911 show that of the nine counties, three had a large Catholic majority and only two had a substantial Protestant majority. It was the fact that the Catholics numbered almost 700,000 out of a total population of slightly more than one and a half million which, in view of the fears which ruled the other 800,000, made North of Ireland politics for the sake of the North of Ireland almost out of the question. The study reveals that it was because P. R. tended to make the real interests of the people of the area as a whole the basis of their politics that led those who feared their leadership would end with such a change of base to revert to the election system which put them in power.

Home Rule Progress

Though Gladstone made home rule for Ireland an issue in the early eighties it was not until 1911 that it became, legislatively, a possibility. Not until then was the House of Lords, the citadel of the Conservative Party, shorn of its obstructive power. The next year a home rule bill was introduced and had passed second reading before the idea of P. R. was raised. It was raised by whom? Mr. Glickman shows that the demand came from Ulster. Then he quotes John Redmond, who was not always as belligerent as his red beard

[1] A book against P. R., reviewed in this department in May 1942.

implied, as speaking for his followers and conceding the justice of the Protestant-Unionist proposal. But Glickman completes the picture by a quotation from one unique figure, a Unionist who was also a Catholic, to the effect that there were some Unionists who did not want P. R., for the simple reason that they did not want an Irish Parliament.

In condensing the debates on this and the other legislative milestones of his study, Glickman does an excellent job, so that the story tells itself. But occasionally he cannot refrain from such a comment as: "These arguments are based not upon the broad question of reform of democratic processes, but rather on the individualized benefits that would accrue to the Conservative party and the economic class that provided the backbone of its electorate." He finds that the Catholics used both bases for their arguments, for he says: "Political parties, if confronted by the immediate aspects of P. R., are prone to forget democratic theories. They seek rather to judge on the basis of political advantage or disadvantage to themselves. The oppostion of the Ulster delegation was so founded; the advocacy of the Catholic forces rested on the same basis. The latter, however, mustered democratic arguments in their support." As proof of that last sentence he quotes Joseph Devlin: "I believe it is a fatal thing to keep minorities from exercising that influence that they ought to exercise."

P. R. for Local Elections

A bill to use P. R. in local elections not only carried but, unlike the act setting up an Irish Parliament, which fell a victim to the war, was put into operation. The local elections took place in 1920 and the statistics quoted show that, as measured by census figures for religious affiliation, the councils elected gave substantial justice to the two rival groups. This elicited favorable comment in many newspapers of England and Ireland, though some Ulsterites made a wry face because in some cases to get justice meant to lose power.

In the same year Lloyd George introduced a bill which when passed split Ireland into two parts and made Ulster no longer a province but the Government of North Ireland. It set up constituencies which were to elect members of its parliament by P. R. and gave that parliament the power to use any other electoral system after three years. Quotations from Unionists in the debates made it clear that if the bill were to pass, the provision for the abolition of P. R. would be taken advantage of quite early; in Ireland as a whole they were a minority, and many southern Unionists were for P. R., but in Ulster they were a majority and did not take so kindly to minority representation.

Parliamentary Elections

The bill passed and Glickman's Chapter V describes the election held under it in 1921. The Unionists and Labor Unionists captured thirty-six of the forty-eight seats, not counting Queen's College, but that was not sufficient for them. Some of the opposition candidates had discussed issues which suggested that Labor, without the appendage of Unionist, which in this connection means union with Great Britain, might come to have its own political expression. Indeed that tendency had shown itself in the local elections by P. R. held previously. This gave further impetus to the desire of Unionist leaders to get rid of P. R., as did the election of certain independent Unionists not endorsed by the organization.

The use of P. R. for local elections was the first to be abolished. Before similar action was taken in regard to

Parliament a second parliamentary election occurred in 1925. On first-choice votes for contested seats—there were eight uncontested—the Unionists and Labor Unionists received 210,000 to 174,000 for the combined opposition. Most remarkable was the fact that in Belfast, where in 1921 the Unionists had elected fifteen of the sixteen members, they now elected only eight. Only a return to the single-member district system, with such districts properly gerrymandered, was thinkable under the circumstances to the Unionist party strategists.

The eighth chapter describes what was said and done when P. R. for Parliament was abolished. It deserves to be read by those who have a strong interest in studying the human mind in action. One is simply amazed at the rationalizations masked as reasons which the intolerant majority gave for their action.

At the end of his ninth and concluding chapter Glickman sums up by first saying: "Northern Ireland is hardly a standard example for the study of the mechanisms of P. R. Democratic nations may possess similar characteristics, but each has its own internal conditions, and these influence the operation of political machinery. The ability of a minority to grow into a majority is a prime requisite to the proper functioning of democratic government. Indeed, where this possibility, for any of a number of reasons, does not exist, it can hardly be said that there is real political democracy."

Glickman's final sentences are: "Although the individuality and equality of all persons was assumed, no attempt was made by the dominant political party to take this equality seriously or to make it effective. These conditions negatived all endeavors to institute democratic government. The skeleton existed but the muscles and sinews of a healthy organism were lacking. Proportional representation was an attempt to flesh the skeleton, but it came to grief. A sharp clash within the population on the very question of the existence of the state complicated the fate of democracy. Proportional representation mitigated the effect of these clashes, but in the final analysis its very success cost it its life at the hands of those who desired to keep the skeleton in its ancient form."

Glickman's two concluding sentences say something of extreme importance: they touch on a condition which has troubled many political states. It once troubled us, and the only answer we could make was the war between the states. What shall be done when a state contains within itself large numbers of those who would destroy it? Each specific case calls for its specific answer, but Glickman concludes that in one case P. R. "mitigated the effect of such clashes," as it did when it was first introduced in Switzerland to put an end to a condition of civil war in the canton of Ticino, and as a committee of the United States Senate, under the chairmanship of Senator Buckalew, in 1869 held it would have done had it been in effect for the elections of Congress before our own Civil War.

Proportionalists should give thanks to Dr. Brecht because, in reviewing a book that claims P. R. leads to anarchy, he mentions the thesis of his student. The thesis concludes that in an unusually critical situation, aggravated by strong religious feeling, P. R. tended to mitigate the factors which made for anarchy.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Cities Are for People. By Mel Scott. Los Angeles, Pacific Southwest Academy, 1942. 110 pp. $1.

Today Chicago is justly proud of the great water-front development along the shores of Lake Michigan. Few cities in modern times have surpassed this "front yard" symphony of lake vistas, free space for people to play in, efficient traffic flow, amply spaced public buildings, and numerous other features which are judged good for people.

The key to Chicago's present-day water-front achievement can be found in an event that took place earlier in this century. Over twenty-five years ago the plan for this "city beautiful" of the future was presented to the children of Chicago in a textbook. For years each high school pupil in Chicago studied the *Wacker Manual*. This exposure of the young minds of the metropolis to the great and moving plans for the growing city had a profound long-term effect. As these indoctrinated youth matured into adult citizens, they carried out the plan bit by bit, modifying it here and there in terms of current evidence, but holding substantially to the pictures which the *Wacker Manual* had created in their imaginations. One could criticize the plan for not encompassing the backyard of Chicago as well, but to the extent that it planned the waterfront it did so with courage and wisdom. Here along the lake front is a good illustration of the old adage that the "child is father to the man."

In a western city we have in the making another example of such farsighted use of the schools in community development. The Los Angeles Region has been working on a master plan for years. The principal features of this master plan are now presented in a most attractive volume entitled *Cities Are for People*. This volume is being used in the high schools of this metropolitan region to "clarify the aims of planning in the Los Angeles Region" and to fire the imaginations of the younger citizens with a conception of a magnificent future city which can be achieved if the people envisage it and want it.

The volume is no dull document of facts and statistics. Contrasting sharply to most engineering treatises and school textbooks, this prospectus of the future is beautifully designed by Alvin Lustig, illustrated with eye-catching and meaningful drawings by Bob Holdeman. The text is written in simple and direct language by Mel Scott. Text and pictures on facing pages contrast the good and bad features of housing, highway facilities, recreation, flood control, conservation, etc. Animated maps show the present limitations of the area as they cramp and inhibit the people of this region and other maps depict the region as it is planned for modification so that the land and its resources may be used to provide the elements of the good life for all—employment, food, safety and security, shelter, schools, health, recreation, transportation, etc.

The volume presents not merely a dream without reality. Solid fact from history, geology and human geography, population, economics, government, engineering, and other disciplines form the basis of the planning. What are the facts of earth faults which periodically slip and cause earthquakes? How must the physical pattern and structures in the region take these fault facts into account? What are the statistics on needs of water, or transporta-

tion, or any other goods or service for present and future population? How well does the present system of water provision or traffic flow serve this population? What must be done to achieve the master plan for water or traffic—land, water, and air? How can such a plan be programmed and carried out? What are the roles of the citizens, of the official, and of the technical expert in such programs?

These and equally realistic problems are presented to the flexible minds of the younger generation now in schools. Young citizens equipped with both the vision of their city beautiful and the hard tools of programming with which to achieve that vision have the best chance of some day realizing on their dreams.

The schools of Los Angeles are being used by the community to shape the future along lines known to be possible and desirable. Here is an example of educational and municipal statesmanship that can serve both as inspiration and model to other communities.

PAUL R. HANNA
Stanford University

As the Twig Is Bent. By Richard Welling. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. 295 pp. $3.

The latest of Hendrik Van Loon's books to delight and instruct us is his *Lives*. One guest whom he invites to one of his imaginary dinners left this world so recently as to have been known in the flesh by many readers, Fridtjof Nansen. A high point is the discussion Van Loon has with him in the presence of the three men who headed the first polar expedition. The question discussed is that of leadership, which as we all realize is the crucial problem of democracy.

The book here under review brings Nansen and that discussion to mind again and again. Both in physical appearance and in personality Richard Welling, its author, bears a strong resemblance to Nansen. In two ways this "experiment in autobiography" completes the discussion which ends at the stroke of twelve in Van Loon's book. Richard Welling does this, first by telling in such a fascinating way the story of his own life, now in its "eighth decile," and second, by telling of the main objective of his life, which is exemplified in the National Self Government Committee which he founded, teaching democracy to young people, not as a set of verbal statements about principles, but as a process of emotional attitudes and habits of thinking and doing.

We not only come to know Richard Welling intimately, and therefore to regard him with loving reverence, but we also learn something of practically all men and women who have played a part in the civic reform movements of New York City and of the nation in the last half century. The Index is a veritable "Who's Who" of those who have had, in our own times, an important share in making democracy work in our power-machine age.

Mr. Welling helped organize and was present at the first meeting of the National Municipal League in 1894. We trust he will be present at its fiftieth annual meeting in 1944.

Mr. Welling has other interests: in writing of sports, music, art, and animals he gives us five fine chapters which should dispel the notion that a civic reformer must have a one-track mind and a humorless spirit.

The whole book bubbles with merriment and the inclusion of pictures of W. S. Gilbert and George Ade lets us know that Richard Welling's basic methods for accomplishing reform have the flavor of Erasmus, Voltaire, and Swift, rather than of Calvin, Jonathan

Edwards, and Torquemada. The photograph of Welling and his drum, on page 65, should be in every textbook of civics as an example of effective method.

Today many people are concerned over the treatment that should be accorded the Germans and the Japanese when peace comes. The best answer is found in this book, particularly chapters VII through XII. Let those whom we can spare, who have learned how to practice and to teach democracy by the Welling method, become part of the educational force of the countries with which we are now at war. For even after our flag flies over Hitler's Chancellory the peace of the world will remain fragile so long as it does not consciously apply what this noble man has been teaching during his long life.

It has long been realized that democracy is based upon the "right sort" of school system. Richard Welling goes even further. He says: "A good school is a place where young people of any age come together to educate themselves and each other, with the help of good teachers, in those social habits of coöperation and studies needed for effective citizenship in a democracy."

Of course all our present thinkers about education, and certainly he who holds official leadership among them, Dr. John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, endorse that definition heartily and are working for its accomplishment. But the democrats within our school systems need the moral support of the parents of the young people they teach. Whoever reads Richard Welling's story of what he has done towards the most important job facing our age, will close the book with the quiet resolve to do all he can to spread the influence of its main idea to the seven seas and the end of time. WALTER J. MILLARD

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Budgets

Factors in Making 1943 Budgets. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1943. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Education

Sound Educational Credit for Military Experience. A Recommended Program. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1943. 35 pp.

Wartime Handbook for Education. Washington, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1943. 63 pp. 15 cents.

Governors

Governors' General Messages to State Legislatures in January 1943. By Louise H. Clickner. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1943. 8 pp.

Inflation

Battle Stations for All. The Story of the Fight to Control Living Costs. Washington, D. C., Office of War Information, 1943. 128 pp.

Controlling Inflation Through Taxation in Great Britain and Canada. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Land Use

A Study of Land Use in Thirty-one Towns in Aroostook County, Maine. Orono, Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Maine, 1942. 106 pp.

Libraries

Equal Chance. Books Help to Make It. Chicago, American Library Association, 1943. 32 pp. Illus.

Municipal Government

Municipal Index and Atlas 1943. New York City, American City Magazine Corporation, 1943. 552 pp. $5.

Municipal Reports

Annual Municipal Reports. Suggestions and Requirements. Hallowell, Maine Municipal Association, 1943. 8 pp.

Planning

New Plans for Old Towns. A Case Study of Hartford, Vermont. By John W. Reps. Boston, National Resources Planning Board Region 1, 1942. 43 pp.

Rationing

Point Rationing, with Particular Reference to British Experience. A bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1942. 7 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Do We Want a Federal Sales Tax. By Charles O. Hardy. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1943. 47 pp. 25 cents.

Income Tax Collection Plans. A bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1943. 8 pp.

New Zealand's Experience with Land-Value Taxation, and How that Nation Is Planning for Improved Public and Private Housing in the Post-War Years. By Walter Nash, Minister of New Zealand to the United States. New York City, Citizens Housing Council of New York, 1943. 22 pp. 20 cents.

Pruning the Municipal Budget. Part III—Studies of Individual Departments. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1943. 28 pp.

Tax Limitation Laws. A Review of the Effects on Municipal Government of Over-all Tax Limitations and a Presentation of Evidence That Such Measures Constitute a Negative Approach to Tax Reform. By G. M. Morris. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1943. 36 pp. 50 cents.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

(Continued from Page 242)

vidual insecurity can be approached on a nation-wide front, will prove more simple and economical and will serve the insured persons much more effectively.

President Roosevelt presented this view when, in his Budget Message of January 7, 1942, he said: "I recommend an increase in the coverage of old-age and survivors insurance, addition of permanent and temporary disability payments and hospitalization beyond the present benefit programs, and liberalization and expansion of unemployment compensation in a uniform national system." Moreover, in view of the present danger of inflation and the need to prepare now for sudden and extreme changes after the war, he urged that, in order to "advance the organic development of our social security system and at the same time contribute to the anti-inflationary program," action be taken immediately to expand the social security program as he had suggested.

In developing such an expanded program we should take advantage of the experience of recent years to simplify and to strengthen all of our social security programs so that they will become a more effective instrument in preserving our nation and our way of life.